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JPRS-NEA-86-039

31 MARCH 1986

# Near East/South Asia Report

'THE ARABS IN THE YEAR 2000'

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31 March 1986

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

### 'THE ARABS IN THE YEAR 2000'

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 1-7, 8-14, 15-21, 22-28 Jan 86,  
29 Jan-4 Feb 86

[Article and interviews prepared by Nadim Nasir, et al.: "The  
Arabs in the Year 2000"]

[1-7 Jan 86 pp 18-25, 27-31]

[Text] "The Arabs in the Year 2000" is the subject of a survey conducted by AL-MAJALLAH on Arab conditions by the end of this, the 20th, century and the beginning of the next, the 21st, century. Those Arab conditions that were the subject of the survey were political, economic, military, cultural and social. In this broad-based survey over 80 Arab intellectuals who are directly involved in the aforementioned areas were questioned by AL-MAJALLAH, and they were asked a group of questions. The result of that survey was a broad investigative report that will be published in installments. This report begins with an installment that deals with the political situation; other installments will be published in sequence in future issues.

During this period of factionalism, dissolution, loss and frustration which the Arab homeland has been experiencing--and this has been indisputably the worst period in modern Arab history--we here in AL-MAJALLAH have tried to do what people who feel the world closing in on them usually do. We have been repeating what a poet said about how confining and limiting life would be without hope. So we set our sights on the future and chose a prominent time marker: the beginning of the 21st century, a century that holds the promise of an exciting future for mankind. That future will be exciting, whether that excitement is negative or positive.

Although the period of time which separates us from the onset of that mysterious era is brief, we dreamed of an Arab homeland that would stretch from the ocean

to the gulf and become one geopolitical unit rising along with others to the rank of a superpower. We dreamed of a homeland in which all Arabs would live in comfort and prosperity. We dreamed of a homeland where Arabs would be able to foster and refine their intuitive creativity because they would not have to toil to earn their bread and butter. We dreamed of a homeland where Arabs would not have to struggle to regain their usurped rights. We dreamed of a national Arab identity that would draw us away from regional feelings which were stirred up in recent years, discrediting the Arabs' character and true identity, as though their emotional and physical wounds were not enough! We dreamed of an Arab future in which Arabs would live as equals like the teeth of a comb in an Arab democracy that would be neither eastern nor western but rather derived from the precepts of our true religion, our traditions and our heritage. We dreamed of a liberated Palestine that would become the throbbing heart of a united Arab homeland. We dreamed of Lebanon becoming an oasis and a paragon of peace. We dreamed of a time when minorities and sects would disappear and vanish in this generous and charitable nation which enriches and is enriched by these minorities. We dreamed of a time when the flames of war between these minorities would not flare up whenever a person of malice tries to stir their dying embers. We dreamed that the land between the Euphrates and the Tigris would become the source of fertility, charity and stability. We dreamed that the Nile Valley would become this nation's beaming center and its bread basket, protecting it from the presumptuous authority of food colonialism. We dreamed of many things. Like others, we too have a right to dream!

But dreams soon disappear and vanish when the thrill of our daydreams is chased away by the stark reality we are experiencing today. Then when we relate the dreams we can recall to experts and knowledgeable people and ask them to interpret them for us, we find that their interpretations differ and vary. Our hopes soar and sink with those interpretations, and after all these dreams are analysed and we are told what to expect, we find ourselves persuaded by what we've been told by Ahmad Sidqi al-Dajjani, a Palestinian thinker and student of the future. Mr. al-Dajjani told us that dealing with the future was not limited to prognostication. Dealing with the future is rather an effort that links one's expectations with one's will to take action. The will to take action is always guided and steered by man's dreams. In other words, what happens in the future depends on matters that we can do something about.

It was inevitable that the answers provided by our experts and thinkers in the most important and largest survey the Arab press has ever known would examine trends and ideas. It was inevitable that this survey would reflect, on the one hand, the present conflicting trends and ideas in the Arab world and the regional view of developing events, on the other hand, as compared with a national view and a purely academic one. It was also inevitable that these answers reflect the feelings of despair and frustration from which Arabs are now suffering.

There were, however, numerous answers and justifications that set forth a set of opinions and ideas which should be pondered and considered by both ordinary and distinguished Arabs. These answers and justifications suggested there were regional and sectarian fears whose motives ought to be considered. Although the picture that experts and thinkers sketched of the Arabs in the year 2000 was rather dark, it was not altogether gloomy. As far as the map of the Arab world



in the year 2000 is concerned, most of those questioned by AL-MAJALLAH find that radical change in that map is unlikely. Some, however, expect that changes in the map of the Arab world would be made to serve foreign interests against the wishes of the Arab world. They also expect that negative changes would be made in that map and that the Zionist enemy would expand at the Arabs' expense. Those people attribute such expectations to the decline in the wave of Arab nationalism, which called for unity, and to what one of our thinkers called an imbalance. That imbalance manifests itself, on the one hand, in the Zionist enemy's continued expansion and intransigence and in the weakness of Arab solidarity, on the other.

Our first question about the map of the Arab world in the year 2000 should have also included a question about the future of Arab unity. But we deliberately separated the two subjects from each other so that, on the one hand, we could explore possibilities for the negative changes that are expected in the map of the Arab world. On the other hand, we wanted to elicit as many opinions as we could on the future of comprehensive Arab unity. To most Arabs such Arab unity is still a distant dream, and expectations that the dream could materialize have declined radically during this period. Our thinkers agree that such Arab unity will not materialize by the end of this century, but the reasons they give for that are different and conflicting. The most important of these reasons may be the decline in Arab nationalism, which was predominant in the fifties and sixties, and the differences in principles and understandings upon which the various Arab countries are based. More emphasis is also now being placed on the principle of an independent state which devotes its attention to protecting its sovereignty and its internal security. Most of our thinkers, however, are less pessimistic. Setting their sights on an existing model of unity, they have great hopes that that model would be expanded and become an example for others to follow. Most of our thinkers thought that three regional coalitions modeled after the Gulf Cooperation Council would be established in the Arab homeland. These coalitions would be established in the Fertile Crescent, in the Nile Valley and in the Arab Maghreb. In the long term, coordination and cooperation in these coalitions would grow, and they would become the nucleus for unity or for a federation that would develop in the long term.

#### The Arab League and Other Matters

One academician thought that the future of the Arab League was a real Arab problem "reflecting the worst in the Arab world." However, most thinkers agree that the Arab League will still be there by the end of the century. They said that its role may grow because, as one thinker put it, "it cannot shrink more than it has already." Some expect the Arab League's importance to grow if Egypt should re-join the League and if the League's offices were to return to Cairo. But others think that the Arab League will continue to be an ineffective bureaucracy because any attempt to make it an effective organization, to amend its charter, to make its decisions majority decisions rather than unanimous ones, and to increase its powers would be done at the expense of the member states' sovereignty.

We noticed that most of the thinkers we surveyed avoided answering our question about whether parochial feelings would flourish or decline by the onset of the 21st century. Their reluctance to answer that question may reflect a sense of

despair which indicates that parochial feelings are flourishing at the present time. However, most of the few who answered that question expect regional feelings to decline or, at worst, remain unchanged.

None of the thinkers surveyed by AL-MAJALLAH expect that a Palestinian state would be established on all of Palestine unless a third world war breaks out. One person said, "The border lines would be re-drawn after such a war." Many, however, think that a Palestinian mini-state would be established on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and that it would be associated with Jordan in a confederation. Those people are convinced, however, that that will only come about after a long struggle or if radical changes in Israel itself are made. Eventually those changes would make not only the establishment of a Palestinian mini-state possible, but also the establishment of a secular, democratic state in all of Palestine. A drastic change in the balance of powers in the region could also make the establishment of a Palestinian mini-state possible. One Lebanese thinker thinks that the Palestinian cause is merely one aspect of the conflict with Israel. He thinks that other aspects of the conflict with Israel will not go away whether or not a solution to the Palestinian cause is achieved.

Most of the people who were surveyed expect Egypt to abrogate its peace agreement with Israel whether or not a just solution to the Palestinian cause is reached. The provocative explanations for that can be found in the text of the survey. Whether or not a just solution to the Palestinian cause is found, none of our experts expects any change in U.S.-Israeli relations that would be favorable to the Arabs. But two experts do expect change if someone like Kahane or Sharon were to come to power, or if eastern Jews were to gain control of Israel and distance it from the United States. There are several factors tying the United States and Israel, and these include the confrontation with the Soviet Union and U.S. hostility to Third World countries.

We asked many questions. We asked questions about the future of Lebanon, about relations between Iraq and Iran, and about relations between the Arabs and the two superpowers. Finally, we paused to consider what our thinkers thought about the course of Arab democracy. According to one thinker, "The positive development of Arab democracy is inevitable." Social and economic changes, the spread of education and other changes and developments are encouraging signs that democracy is growing. However, the effort to achieve democracy is painstaking and arduous, and it must be done gradually and in stages.

In the next few pages AL-MAJALLAH presents this abundance of ideas regardless of the motives behind them. Whether these ideas are moderate or radical, AL-MAJALLAH presents them without any additions or deletions. AL-MAJALLAH is thus hoping to stir up on all levels a constructive Arab debate that would ultimately reveal, since we are advocates of democracy, the true inclinations of most Arabs as well as the picture of the Arab homeland in the year 2000 that this majority will make an effort to achieve.

The Early 21st Century: Will the Arab Map Be Changed?

[Question] Will there be a radical change in the map of the Arab world by the beginning of the 21st century?

Most of those questioned by AL-MAJALLAH think it is unlikely that a radical change in the map of the Arab world will happen in the next 15 years, even though some of them expect such changes would be made against the Arab nation's wishes. Each one who was questioned had his own explanation for what he said.

Nabil Ya'qub al-Hamar, general manager of the Gulf News Agency: "A radical change in the map of the Arab world is unlikely even though it is possible that change may occur in some areas, such as the Lebanese-Syrian borders, if national forces in Lebanon cannot come up with a solution that would be satisfactory to everyone."

Mohamed Benyehya, editor-in-chief of the Moroccan newspaper, AL-BALAGH: "We cannot imagine that the map of the Arab world will remain unchanged over the next 15 years because the political power which the Arab world could have used and exercised in the past years has begun to collapse. The Palestinian cause, which is a central issue for the Arabs, has become the focal point of large conflicts in the Arab world. Given all these factors, it is inevitable that a new situation would develop before the onset of the 21st century."

Jihad al-Khazin, a well-known Arab journalist: "What I fear is a change in the map of the Arab world that is caused by outside factors and serves foreign interests. I fear a change that would not be coming from within the Arab world."

'Adid Dawishah, a senior researcher at the Wilson Center for Studies and Research in Washington: "I do not expect changes in the map of the Arab world by the year 2000."

Mohamed al-'Alami, a Moroccan diplomat and chairman of the Arab Maghreb Community Center: "I do not expect change in the map of the Arab world by the onset of the 21st century."

'Abd-al-Wahid ibn Mas'ud, a Moroccan attorney and member of parliament: "One cannot predict a radical change in the map of the Arab world because the principle of sovereignty for each state precludes that and because the different beliefs that are being set forth on the Arab scene would not help bring about such a change."

Clovis Maqsud, the Arab League's ambassador in Washington: "Regardless of its nature and direction, change is basically a process of transformation required by objective conditions and circumstances. Sometimes change comes as a challenge, and other times it is required and dictated by current events. It is known throughout our Arab homeland that we are going through a period full of crucial challenges, chief among which are those that are required for the confrontation with Israel, not to mention what is required to stay in step with the times. But in spite of some achievements that have so far been made in more than one area, we are still falling short in dealing with these requirements. This imbalance manifests itself, on the one hand, in the fact that the Zionist enemy is continuing his expansion and intransigence. On the other hand it manifests itself in the weakness of Arab solidarity. There are, however, positive indicators which have appeared recently in Arab political activity: in Arab mediation committees, to be specific. Such corrective action may be considered a

response to this growing imbalance in the equation of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and that is the most crucial challenge we are facing. Therefore, we hope that more positive change will be forthcoming in the map of Arab solidarity. We hope for change that will strengthen the unity of Arab ranks in a manner that is consistent with the conditions of this crucial confrontation."

Mahmud Riyad, former secretary general of the Arab League: "If matters remain as they are now, a change in the map of the Arab world will certainly happen. But this change will be favorable to hostile forces and to Israel in particular."

Ahmad Sidqi al-Dajjani, a Palestinian thinker and former member of the PLO Executive Committee: "Let me define the word, radical. If we are talking about radical in the general sense of the word, then I do not expect a radical change; but if we are talking about radical change in a relative sense, then I do expect a change. The change that I think will happen in the next 15 years will involve the 4 regions of the Arab homeland. I mean the Fertile Crescent, the Arabian Peninsula, the Nile Valley and the Arab Maghreb. I expect ties within each one of these regions and between each region and its neighbors to be strengthened."

Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim, professor of sociology at the American University in Cairo: "I expect there will be change, but it is hard to predict whether or not that change will be radical. The indicators suggest that the Arab world cannot go on like this because it has reached a state of weakness that makes it impossible for it to survive. The indicators for change stem basically from the reasons for weakness."

Prince 'Abdallah Faysal ibn Turki, secretary general of the Royal Authority for Jubayl and Yanbu': "I do not expect there will be a radical change in the map of the Arab world except in the area surrounding Israel. I believe that Israel will take advantage of the coming period, given the poor Arab conditions, its own political clout and its clout with the media, to expand its territory. I also believe that Israel wants to have new land borders with the Arab countries. It wants those new borders so it can pose a direct military threat to those countries and consequently hold sway over them politically and economically."

Wahid Ra'fat, vice president of the New Wafd Party in Egypt: "The changes that may happen in the map of the Arab world will be quite limited as a result of two factors: Arab-Israeli relations and the conflict between Iraq and Iran. As far as the first factor is concerned, an Arab-Israeli war could break out, but as far as the Iran-Iraq war is concerned, a peaceful settlement of the conflict will create changes."

Riyad Najib al-Rayyis, journalist and author: "Yes, I do expect a radical change in the map of the Arab world. I look forward to such a change, and I pray for it. I expect such a change because the norm of development in nations requires it, now that a whole century has passed by and the imaginary borders that were drawn on sand by colonialists have turned into 'sacred cows' which no one may touch. I look forward to such a radical change because I am an author who believes in Arab nationalism and in the inevitability of Arab unity. I believe that a struggle to achieve that unity is necessary. I pray for such a radical change because the only way out I can see for this torn nation is that of radical change in its geographical characteristics. Such change would eliminate many borders and open many barriers."



## Regional Coalitions Rather Than Arab Unity

[Question] Will there be comprehensive Arab unity by the beginning of the 21st century?

Most of the thinkers who were questioned by AL-MAJALLAH do not expect comprehensive Arab unity to emerge by the beginning of the 21st century, although many expect regional coalitions modeled after the Gulf Cooperation Council to develop.

Muhammad ibn Hamad Aal Khalifah, director of the Political Department in Qatar's Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "The situation will be as it is now by the beginning of the 21st century, but it is possible that regional coalitions similar to the Gulf Cooperation Council will be established. An appeal will be made to establish a united Arab Maghreb, but that is linked with a solution to the Western Sahara question. An appeal will be made for the unity of the Nile Valley, but that will be made after Sudan's economic problems are overcome and after something is done about the rebellion in the south. And an appeal will be made for the unity of Syrian lands, but that depends on settling the Middle East question. As far as comprehensive Arab unity is concerned, that will never materialize because it is a figment of the imagination."

'Abd-al-Wahid ibn Mas'ud: "The unity of the Arab world from the ocean to the gulf is something every Arab wishes for. I believe it will be achieved in stages and in steps. But before we have political unity, we must have unity in other areas which would pave the way for comprehensive unity. For example, laws and educational curricula must be standardized; trade across Arab boundaries must be reconsidered; an Arab common market should be established; and the foundations for an Arab court should also be laid. This, in my opinion, is what it will take to establish a foundation for Arab unity."

'Adid Dawishah: "I do not expect there will be comprehensive Arab unity, nor do I expect Arab alliances to be established. What we see now in the Arab world is a small scale picture of what the situation will be like during the next 50 or 60 years. The idea of an independent Arab state struggling to maintain its sovereignty and its domestic security will survive and linger. So will the idea of Arab nationalism and the feeling among citizens of Arab countries that they are Arabs. However, more emphasis will be placed on the principle of the state, and Arabs will think of themselves as Iraqis, Jordanians or Syrians first and Arabs second. This is the opposite of the feeling that prevailed in the fifties and sixties when people thought of themselves as Arabs first and as citizens of their individual countries second."

Jihad al-Khazin: "I think it is likely--or maybe this is wishful thinking on my part--that regional coalitions will be established. These coalitions would complement each other; they would not compete, fight or disagree with each other. But as long as we are engaged in wishful thinking and speaking with hope rather than despair, I am saying that regional coalitions are more likely because they can be established. And even though comprehensive Arab unity is the ultimate objective, I do not expect to see it materialize in my life time. But I do think that regional coalitions can materialize in the Arab Maghreb, in the Nile Valley with Libya, in the Arabian Peninsula, and in the Fertile Crescent."

Ibrahim Abu Lughud: "There will be less Arab unity by the beginning of the 21st century. Organizations modeled after the Gulf Cooperation Council have nothing to do with unity. Arab unity, according to the objectives that are being pursued by Arab regimes, signifies division and disunity. However, we may have more unity if conditions improve. But if the Arab world continues to move in the same direction in which the current regimes in Arab countries are moving, there will be greater disunity and less cooperation than we have now in the Arab world."

Rashid al-Khalidi, professor of political science at Columbia University in New York: "It is not likely that we will see comprehensive Arab unity, but regional cooperation is more likely. The Gulf Cooperation Council is an exciting example of the interest that exists in regional cooperation. It is more likely that we will see more of such coalitions and that this experiment will continue. There are Arab problems that can only be solved in this manner."

Mohamed Benyehya: "There will be no comprehensive Arab unity in the next 15 years because the seeds of any unity do not yet exist. Unity of a geographical area as large as that of the Arab world requires a period of preparation before it can materialize. At the present time there is nothing to indicate that such pre-unity preparations are being made. However, some kind of limited regional unity may develop."

Nabil Ya'qub al-Hamar: The establishment of comprehensive Arab unity in the next 20 years is inconceivable. It is, however, possible for regional coalitions to be established in some areas. Such a coalition would, for example, strengthen the ability of the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council to coordinate their activities. It is possible that a cooperative coalition will be established between the countries of the Maghreb, between Egypt and Sudan, and between Syria and Lebanon; and it may be possible to achieve some kind of political coordination between these coalitions. But if Arab countries maintain their present identities, I do not expect to see comprehensive Arab coordination in politics or in other areas."

Clovis Maqsd: "Arab unity is a matter of having a common destiny and common feelings; it is an existing fact that is confirmed by daily events and developments. The national bond which is manifested by the Arab League is the most prominent feature of this unity. But comprehensive unity, including the unity of institutions, facilities and fundamentals remains something to which we aspire. Such unity requires objective conditions that are still unavailable. Accordingly, it may be said that efforts are currently being made to redress the imbalance that exists within Arab ranks. It is true that comprehensive Arab unity is neither imminent nor impending, but we are most certainly not on the verge of national disintegration. The thrust of common Arab action must be toward unity, not disintegration."

Mahmud Riyad, former secretary general of the Arab League: "If what we mean by unity is unity in a constitutional sense, then that is not imminent in the foreseeable future in light of what we've been experiencing. I am referring in particular to the experience of unity between Egypt and Syria. I remember saying at the time that if something were to happen to that unity, no one would talk about unity for the next 50 years. Now I feel I was being optimistic then. Therefore,

the most that we aspire to is the unity of Arab action. The establishment of forms of regional cooperation, such as the Gulf Cooperation Council's experiment, does not conflict with any objective for unity. Such cooperation may be considered a measure that is in favor of national Arab action."

Ahmad Sidqi al-Dajjani: "As a student of the future I would like to say that our dealings with the future are not limited to predicting what will happen. Dealing with the future rather joins together one's expectations with one's will to act, which is always guided and steered by man's exclusive ability to dream. Therefore, what happens in the future depends on matters that we can do something about. Thus, the answer to that question would consist in part of taking stock of the existing situation, which is related to the past that we are aware of, and it would also consist in part of an attempt to do what we want to do. Within these parameters I think that the next two decades will bring about some kind of regional unity. And that is considered a step toward comprehensive unity. Our contemporary world is one in which small fish have no place in an ocean full of whales."

Wahid Ra'fat: "I do not believe that comprehensive Arab unity will be established by the end of the 20th century when regional separations [sic?] cannot be. The current situation is the best one for international powers. Since no changes have been made in the Arab countries and since no unity among them has been established since they began to gain their independence 30 years ago in a climate that encouraged such unity, then unity under unfavorable regional and international conditions cannot be expected."

Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim: "Because of its interests, its emotional tendencies and its history the Arab nation will turn to some kind of unity if there should be a widespread awakening in the Arab world, if the negative effects of the lack of financial balance disappear and if terrorism declines. However, this will not be the romantic unity that Arab nationalists imagined in the forties and fifties. Instead, it will be a gradual and a more rational unity, and it will be based on democratic principles. Based on this gradual approach, I expect this unity to start out with forms of regional unity, such as the coalition of the Gulf countries, which is an acceptable model of unity. That experiment may be repeated in other regions. Other regions which are ready for such unity are the Nile Valley region, the Arab Maghreb and the Fertile Crescent."

Minah al-Sulh, a prominent Arab politician and thinker: "One of the richest experiences in the Arab nation's history is that of the union between Egypt and Syria and the subsequent breakup of that union. One of the most important lessons demonstrated by this experience has been that unity between two Arab countries, if it is established, may not last unless it is the product of growth, power and overpowering feelings on both sides. Both parties must have strong feelings about their ability to sustain their union. This union broke up because Syria, which had requested unity with Egypt, was trying to avoid weaknesses and problems from which it was suffering. Its only choice was to place itself in strong hands that might be able to save it from those maladies of power and society which it could not handle. That is why the union of these two states broke up with stunning ease, and the greatest Arab dream died in the blink of an eye. The lesson that we learned from the breakup of this union is

that true unity is that which puts the final touch on specific integration efforts: political, economic and social integration in both countries. To apply that lesson to our present situation, we may say that prospects for proper unity in the near future are non-existent since the Arab countries are not preparing themselves for it. They are not integrating their independent decisions and their basic institutions as advanced societies would so that a request for unity with another state would indicate the maturity of the state which makes that request and not its weariness of its own problems or its attempts to run away from them."

George Sa'adah: "The matter of Arab unity has been talked about since the beginning of the Renaissance. However, it is now almost impossible to achieve after the Arab world became divided into such a large number of countries with different political, social and economic regimes. In such a situation the interests of each of these countries are given preference to what proponents of unity call the supreme national interest. Regional fragmentation is the predominant phenomenon today; it is impeding what proponents of unity call national awareness. This fragmentation has led to what is called a political awareness among ethnic, non-Arab, sectarian and factional minorities, and that, in turn, has intensified the feelings these minorities have for the need to establish their own states or regional coalitions. This is the reality that exists today. But we do not expect the establishment of these coalitions to be easy, nor do we expect the achievement of unity to be any easier. An informed interpretation of what is happening in the area foretells that the Arab world is going through a period of difficult labor pains which may result in some changes being made in the political map. In my opinion, it is likely that things will remain unchanged unless Arab governments and government officials make a deliberate effort to achieve a minimum amount of agreement on the principles of common action within the framework of the Arab League as an alternative solution to comprehensive unity."

Riyad Najib al-Rayyis: "I do not believe that the situation we have now can remain unchanged in the 21st century. But the road to comprehensive Arab unity is a long and arduous one. It needs generations, battles and heroes. The establishment of regional coalitions is not an alternative to unity, but it must be a factor to help it materialize. Regional coalitions must not intensify feelings of narrow parochialism or strengthen fanatic feelings of national chauvinism."

**The Future of the Arab League Depends on the Political Climate!**

[Question] What is the future of the Arab League in the early 21st century?

Thinkers questioned by AL-MAJALLAH agree that the Arab League will still be around by the beginning of the 21st century, although opinions about the possibility for its advancement differed. Some people think that the Arab League cannot be advanced unless its headquarters are returned to Cairo. Another expert thinks that it will not be advanced and it will not become stronger because its advancement and strength would be accomplished at the expense of each Arab country.

Rashid al-Khalidi: "The Arab League is a real problem. It reflects the worst in the Arab world, and it is the lowest common indicator in it. Any positive action



that will be taken from now till the end of the century will be taken outside the Arab League or within one of its specialized agencies, such as the League's Educational and Cultural Organization. That organization holds more promise than the league itself."

Nabil Ya'qub al-Hamar: "The Arab League will continue to be an ineffective bureaucracy from now till the end of the century. However, expectations will change if Egypt were to contribute to the league's activities and if the league were to return its headquarters to Cairo. This is because the country where such an organization is headquartered exercises much influence over ongoing matters, particularly political matters."

Jihad al-Khazin: "The Arab League will survive, and its role will grow, even though that remark is based on the view that its role cannot shrink more than it already has. The league has survived every crisis that threatened it in the past, and it is capable of surviving every subsequent crisis. In this the Arab League resembles the United Nations, an organization that has been subjected to crises and whose feasibility and future have been questioned. But the United Nations, like the Arab League, will survive because its survival would be better than its demise and because there is no alternative to it."

'Abd-al-Wahid ibn Mas'ud: "The Arab League and its organizations played an important and a vital role in the Arab world. The league is both an indispensable international platform and an effective mechanism by which the Arab countries' points of view can be brought closer together. I do not believe there is any reason for abolishing the league although there may be a need to amend some articles of its charter. But that is self-evident; it is called for by the nature of things and by the inevitability of change. However, that does not diminish its role or its prestige."

Clovis Maqsd: "The Arab League has been and still is an essential mechanism for Arab national action. It is the threshold through which such action can be taken in the grim reality we are experiencing. On that basis it would be natural to consider the league a tool by means of which our national action, which is related to the supreme national interest, can be advanced. The league may be considered a mechanism by means of which the challenges that are facing the Arab nation can be encountered. These days we are seeing the early signs of Arab political activity which is being carried out to strengthen solidarity. It would be logical for us to expect a logical shift in the league's role; the league will manifest the development of that solidarity."

'Addid Dawishah: "I do not expect the Arab League to be abolished because it plays an important psychological role as far as Arab solidarity is concerned. I also do not believe that its role in the future will become more important than the role it has now as a forum where Arabs can discuss their differences and their problems. As long as the prevailing trend in the Arab world is that of maintaining sovereign, independent states, the Arab League's role will remain unchanged because anything done to strengthen that role would be done at the Arab states' expense."

Mahmud Riyad: "Abolishing the Arab League would mean that we have lost our minds and taken leave of our senses! The Arab League must continue to exist regardless

of Arab fragmentation. It is an umbrella that covers the Arab nation. It is the only hope we have that if we agree, we will all get together under its auspices. This means that, if we do not lose our minds, the Arab League will be there by the turn of the century; and if our solidarity grows, it will become a more effective organization."

Ahmad Sidqi al-Dajjani: "The Arab League's effectiveness or ineffectiveness is something that has to do with the member states. I am one of those people who thinks that we've been blaming the Arab League for the faults of its members. The truth is that in the past four decades the Arab League has demonstrated its ability to survive. The league may gain strength as the feeling that coordination and close cooperation are needed grows. What remains unanswered is AL-MAJALLAH's question about whether or not the league would be weakened by the establishment of regional zones. We have to pay attention to this matter, and we have to be careful from the outset so that integration between the part and the whole can be maintained. The future of the Arab League depends upon the wishes of its members, and the time has come for us to give the league the attention it deserves."

Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim: "I do not expect the Arab League to become extinct and forgotten by the turn of the century. As long as there is no comprehensive Arab unity, the Arab League has to exist. If regional unions should emerge in the Arab world, the league will become a coordinating organization for them."

George Sa'adah: "We must first remind ourselves of the principles upon which the Arab League was founded and the objectives for which it was founded. The Arab League was founded on four principles, [the first two of which are] equal sovereignty for the member states and non-intervention in their domestic affairs. The league was also founded to prevent the use of force in settling disputes among the member states and to promote the principle of mutual assistance. There are also four objectives: to promote Arab cooperation in political matters; to safeguard the independence of member states; to preserve peace and security among the member states; and to achieve Arab cooperation in economic, social and cultural matters. In view of these principles and objectives it is evident to us that the Arab League's crisis is manifested in the gap that exists between what is and what is hoped for. Second, its crisis is the result of the fact that some see it as a national organization responsible for achieving Arab unity, while others see it as merely a regional Arab organization, limited by voluntary cooperation agreements. Third, its crisis lies in the fact that more discussions about relations between members take place outside the league than within it. In any case, I think that the Arab league is the alternative to comprehensive unity. In my opinion, the solution lies in reconsidering the league so as to make it become a more dynamic organization that is more responsive to the real lives of Arab nations. It is necessary to change the league's climate of conflict and replace it with one that tends to be harmonious. Otherwise, the league's role in the future will be suspended, its objectives will be lost, and its principles will have been violated."

Minah Al-Sulh: "It is my opinion that although this has been the most successful plan created and carried out by the Arabs in their modern history, the Arab League will not be able to withstand and survive in the future. This is because there is an inherent contradiction in the Arab League. The Arabs demand everything from it, but they give it nothing. The rationale behind the league is that

of a national bond, but the member states are founded on the principle of regional sovereignty. This contradiction magnifies the Arab League to unrealistic proportions, but it divests it almost totally of any power. Therefore, I expect the Arab League to be disbanded in the long term; I expect it will be replaced by a political coalition that will be rhetorically less ambitious but actually more powerful. Such a body would be modeled after the European Economic Community. Going through this stage first before achieving a more effective Arab organization is a must."

Riyad Najib al-Rayyis: "The future of the Arab League is part of the future of Arab regimes. There can be no Arab League that is effective and strong if Arab regimes are indecisive and weak. The Arab League mirrors the condition of this nation. There is no alternative to it as a forum under which all Arab countries can come together under one roof despite their conflicts. Its role will grow as the Arab future prospers, and it will shrink as Arab ambitions fade and collapse."

Is Parochialism Advancing or Receding?

[Question] Will parochial sentiments be awakened in the Arab world by the early 21st century or will they fade?

It is curious that except for a few, most of those questioned by AL-MAJALLAH evaded giving an answer to that question. This may reflect the bitterness that some people feel because parochial sentiments are flourishing at the present time. Or it may reflect pessimism about how these sentiments will flourish by the beginning of the 21st century.

Nabil Ya'qub al-Hamar: "We as a nation must all remember what the poet said: 'Every part of my being is bound by and closely attached to every part of you; the misfortunes that hurt you hurt me too.' This is what we say as one nation, but parochial feelings in general grow and decline according to prevailing political conditions. Mostly, however, these feelings are nothing more than air bubbles that dissipate in times of crises. In such times the national spirit assumes its active role."

Clovis Maqsud: "At the present time no one can deny that Arab nations are experiencing some sense of frustration which has been created by numerous interconnected factors. At this stage Arabs are pulling back and retreating because they find themselves caught between the hammer of a hostile, Zionist expansionist policy and the sickle of a non-existent appropriate, broad-based Arab response. Although such a situation is normal given the Arabs' current pull back and retreat, it is also true that this is not indigenous. It is a temporary situation that is the result of the imbalance in the current stage of the conflict equation."

Wahid Ra'fat: "I do not expect parochial sentiments to flourish. I rather expect them to stay as they are."

Prince 'Abdallah ibn Faysal ibn Turki: "I expect parochial sentiments to flourish."

Mahmud Riyad: "I envision an inevitable Arab awakening with which Arab nations would forge ahead, moving in the right direction to Arab unity. We must not forget what happened in 1973. We must not forget the role played by King Faysal--may God have mercy on his soul--and his fellow Arabs, the princes of the Gulf, like Prince Zayid, the prince of Kuwait and the prince of Qatar. In October 1973 they imposed an oil embargo on the United States on the day after Nixon's decision to make a 1.2 billion dollar deal with Israel."

Ahmad Sidqi al-Dajjani: "I can almost swear that we will bid the parochialism which prevailed in the seventies a final farewell. But we must call attention to the fact that those who promoted parochialism will continue their attempts to promote it. This time, however, they will not find the climate suitable because all the statements that were used to strengthen parochial sentiments have been discredited. I expect there will be a broad response from our Arab people to those pathfinders who have always been calling our attention to the need to maintain a proper perspective on our affiliations with everything with which we are affiliated so that some kind of harmony can be achieved. Thus, there would be no conflict between being a citizen of a regional homeland, espousing a certain faith and being a citizen of the international community. I expect the Arabs' sense of identity will become more clearly uniform and that that sense will take into account each Arab's place--and that is the Arab homeland--his language, which is Arabic, and his religion."

George Sa'adah: "It seems that parochial sentiments are predominant. At the present time thoughts about unity are going nowhere, and there is a sense of reluctance about unity because the effects of the policy pursued by advocates of unity have been negative. The legacy left behind by experiments to achieve that unity has been one of failure. The 1958 union between Egypt and Syria failed; the 1963 union between Egypt, Syria and Iraq failed; and the 1970 Federation of Arab Republics, which included Egypt, Syria and Libya also failed. It is that which fueled parochial sentiments and suggested that the interests of Arab countries were conflicting and had to be governed by the logic of international relations and regional agreements, as is the case with the Organization of African States or the Organization of Latin American States. The idea of unity is facing a real crisis, and regional disputes are getting the better of it. The only way out of this fragmentation and conflict is that of advancing the idea of coordination over that of unity. Otherwise, parochial sentiments will continue to prevail."

The Palestinian Question: Will Palestine Become a Mini-state in a Federation with Jordan?

[Question] How do you think the Palestinian question will have developed by the beginning of the 21st century? If a just solution to the Palestinian question is not achieved, do you expect Egypt to abrogate its peace treaty with Israel? If the Palestinian question is resolved peacefully, do you expect diplomatic relations to be established between the Arab countries and Israel?

Most experts questioned by AL-MAJALLAH expect a Palestinian mini-state will be established, and they expect that state to join Jordan in a confederation. Many, however, believe that the situation will remain unchanged. One person, however,



believes there will be a solution but that it will not come about through negotiations.

Ahmad Sidqi al-Dajjani: "I do not expect the situation we have now to continue because our struggle will continue. Our struggle will take its course, and it will force our enemy to withdraw from occupied Arab territory. I expect our resistance to grow and I expect it to bring about the enemy's withdrawal. But I do not expect our struggle to be crowned after two decades with the establishment of a state in Palestine, unless a third world war breaks out. And I do not think this is likely to happen. I am suggesting war here because border lines are usually drawn after wars. What can happen during the two decades is that the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights may be liberated. The Golan Heights would be returned to Syria, while a Palestinian state may be established on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. That state would soon join Jordan and the Fertile Crescent region in general in an alliance such as the regional alliances which the Arab region will experience. We may suggest in this context that some of the lines that were drawn in 1917 by Sykes-Picot may disappear. I see no contradiction between having a Palestinian state and a confederation [with Jordan]. Having our Palestinian state is a goal, and that can never stand in the way of achieving the goal of Arab unity which we all share. If no just solution to the Palestinian question is achieved, I do not expect Egypt to abrogate its peace treaty with Israel, but if a just solution to the Palestinian question is achieved, I expect that diplomatic relations will be established between the Arab countries and Israel."

Mohamed Benyehya: "If a just solution to the Palestinian question is achieved, diplomatic relations between Israel and a large group of Arab countries may be established."

'Addid Dawishah: "I believe that by the year 2000 the Palestinian cause will be where it is today. I do not believe the Israelis will give up the occupied land in the next 15 years, and I do not think the Palestinians will accept anything less than the return of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. And even if talks between the Arabs and Israel were to begin this year, Israel will not give up the occupied land before 30 years. If it should give up land in the year 2000, I will be surprised by that. I am not certain that the Israelis will be willing to give up Arab territory by then, especially since the extremist movement led by Rabbi Meir Kahane has been growing. Talks between the Arabs and Israel may be held during the next few years, but they will go on for many, many years. I do not believe that Egypt will abrogate the peace treaty with Israel if a peaceful solution is not achieved. When I go to Egypt I sense that the Egyptian people do not wish to go back to a state of war with Israel. The Egyptian people feel that diplomacy is the only way to help the Palestinian people. The only thing that could change that is a military coup in Egypt. But the future of the peace treaty will depend on the tendencies of Egypt's new military leaders. I believe, however, that those leaders would not want to risk going back to a state of war with Israel against the wishes of the Egyptians. They will not risk having American aid to them cut off especially since Arab aid to Egypt will never be what it used to be."

Nabil Ya'qub al-Hamar: "The most likely just solution to the Palestinian question which would be acceptable to the Arabs and to the international community

is that of establishing an independent state that would join Jordan in a confederation. In any case, the peace agreement between Egypt and Israel will play no role, nor will it have any effect; it will be almost semi-frozen. But I do not believe that normal diplomatic relations will be established between the Arab countries and Israel."

Rashid al-Khalidi: "It is more than likely that a Palestinian state will be established by the onset of the 21st century. To put it simply, there is no other solution. The question is not insoluble, and the pessimism that many people feel is unjustified. Much will depend on how things within Israel itself will develop. If the present extremely fanatic national trend prevails, that trend will eventually destroy itself, and changes will be made in Israel that would make the establishment of a Palestinian state possible. Or Israel may be compelled to destroy itself or destroy the region. With regard to the nature of the Palestinian state, it will first be established on part of Palestine. After Israelis experience life with a Palestinian state, they may accept another step. They may create a situation that would cover all of Palestine. This may come in the form of a dual state or a federation. But more than likely, if a just solution to the Palestinian cause is not found, Egypt will be forced to abrogate the peace treaty with Israel as a result of an 'aggressive' Israeli step that Israel would take in the next few years."

Jihad al-Khazin: "I wish there were some reason to think there would be an independent Palestinian state. The most to which I can realistically and rationally aspire, however, is autonomy for the Palestinians in some form of an alliance with Jordan. But the worst scenario is that in the next few years enough Jews would immigrate to Israel from the Soviet Union to justify the annexation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip."

Muhammad al-Hallaj, director of the Palestine Research Center in Washington: "I do not expect a radical shift in the Palestinian cause from now till the end of the 20th century because I do not expect a miracle that would lead to that. A solution to the Palestinian question requires a willingness on Israel's part to give up at least some Palestinian land. Israel will not do this voluntarily and good naturedly. Israel will not give up any land unless there is a radical change in the balance of powers in the region that would make such a withdrawal in Israel's interests. Likewise, I think there will be no movement in the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. In fact, that treaty may even disappear as a result of Israel's continued intransigence and America's bias for it. Therefore, I think that the onset of the 21st century will bring back the effort to oppose the Zionist invasion after the current attempt to adjust to it and coexist with it failed. If a just solution to the Palestinian question is reached, there will be no diplomatic relations with Israel because a just solution in the true sense of the word means restoring all the people's rights, and that would mean the end of Israel as a Jewish, Zionist state. However, if a conciliatory solution, such as the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, is what is meant by a just solution, then I expect diplomatic relations will be established because it would be difficult to avoid that after having reached a solution that both parties find satisfactory."

Wahid Ra'fat: "The development that is expected in the Palestinian question will be something along the lines of saving what can be saved. This would be done by

establishing a Palestinian Arab state on the West Bank and in Gaza. This state would join Jordan in a confederation. If no solution is found, the chance for peace [will be diminished], and what we expect then goes beyond abrogating the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. A new war may erupt between Egypt and Israel, and the conflict will continue."

Clovis Maqsud: "First of all, two matters must be acknowledged. The first matter is that the Palestinian question is an extended struggle with the national enemy. The second point is that this struggle in its present stage is characterized by its military imbalance. We ought to mention at the same time that despite past drawbacks, the ultimate resolution of this conflict will inevitably come, and the Palestinian people will regain all their national rights to return to their country, determine their destiny and build their independent state. Since the nature of the Palestinian question is dynamic rather than static, it is difficult to predict how these rights will be achieved and in what period of time. But regarding the matter of whether Egypt will abrogate the peace treaty with Israel if a just solution to the Palestinian question is not achieved, reference must first be made to the fact that this agreement was not reached to bring about a just solution to the Palestinian question. Quite the contrary, this unilateral agreement was made to inflict more damage on the Palestinian cause. The fact that Egypt made a separate agreement with Israel and became isolated by that agreement weakened the Arab pressure that could be applied to Israel. And that allowed Israel to take advantage of that opportunity and consolidate its occupation by putting up more settlements. Furthermore, Israel continued to maintain its hard-line policy and flex its muscle in Egypt's absence from the scene of effective Arab solidarity. Hence, Egypt's return to the Arab rank must be accomplished at Camp David's expense if Egypt's return is to be proper. Egypt's return to the Arab rank is contingent upon its resumption of its leading and realistic Arab role in deterring the Israeli aggression, which the Camp David accords helped bring about."

'Abd-al-Wahid ibn Mas'ud: "I do not believe that Israeli ambitions are limited even if a solution to the Palestinian question were found. As to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Arabs and Israel in case a just solution is achieved, the answer to that question depends on what a just solution means. If that solution means the liberation of Palestine and the return of Palestinians to their country, that would mean that the state of Israel will shrivel to a point where there can be no relations with it, particularly diplomatic relations. Nevertheless, it is not likely that the Arab people will forget the destruction and ruin that Israel inflicted on the Arab nation."

Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim: "I think the conflict over the Palestinian question will extend into the early 21st century. But the form of the conflict will change: the military and popular conflict will be mixed with the political-official conflict. Resistance on the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and in south Lebanon will continue. At the same time the conflict will be accompanied by official attempts to settle this problem or bring about a historic reconciliation that would in fact create 'a secular, democratic state.' At the present time there are 6 million Palestinians living in Palestine and in the countries where they sought refuge. By the end of the century there will be at least 10 million

Palestinians, compared with 6 million Israelis by then. It would be difficult for 10 million Palestinians and 6 million Jews to disappear. Both parties will discover that the conflict will not end in a complete settlement. Therefore, the idea of coexistence in a secular, democratic society will re-surface. Jews will soften their hostility, and Arabs will become accustomed to accepting the Israelis on the land. But this will only come about through continuous struggle by means of which both parties will be persuaded to coexist together. By the onset of the 21st century we will have gone way beyond the peace agreement between Egypt and Israel. The fact is that we have already gone beyond it; this agreement is now being placed on the sidelines."

Ibrahim Abu Lughud: "The conflict over Palestine is a dynamic, dialectic conflict. It will be solved when the dispute within the Arab world itself is solved. Israel will not submit voluntarily to any kind of peaceful solution because it will not be able to deal with the Palestinian problem or the Arab world unless it is prevailed upon by a military power. At any rate I don't think there is any reason to be pessimistic about the Palestinian problem. I think a solution is possible, but it will not come about by means of an agreement with Israel. There can be no solution through negotiations. As far as the Camp David Agreement is concerned, I believe that Egypt will abrogate it. Egypt's agreement with Israel did not only make Egypt subject to Israel's power, but it also made Egypt subject to the United States. The United States and Israel want to legitimize the Camp David Accords and accordingly place all the Arab world under their power. The Arab world will continue to rely on Washington, while the forces of change will try to break that dependence. It will be in the course of that process that Egypt will abrogate its agreement with the United States."

Muhammad al-'Alami: "I believe that in the next few years the United States will have to negotiate directly with the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. I believe that the first steps that will be taken in developing the cause will be those of linking Palestinians with Jordan. A few years later, the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on all of Palestine may become possible. If a just solution to the Palestinian question is reached, I believe Israel will make the establishment of diplomatic relations between it and the Arabs a condition to such a solution."

Mahmud Riyad: "What we must make clear is that there can be no just solution to the Palestinian question without coercion. But if the deteriorating Arab condition continues, it would not be an exaggeration to say that Israel may go so far as to annex Jordan. Israel has not yet annexed Jordan because it hopes Jordan will become the Palestinians' alternative homeland. But I may go so far as to say that if the Arab condition continues to deteriorate and if the United States, Israel's strategic ally, persists in its hostile positions toward the Arab world, the Palestinian question will become like the Armenian question, a question which the world has forgotten and hardly knows anything about. As to whether or not Arab countries will establish diplomatic relations with Israel, we must not confuse recognition with diplomatic representation. The Fes resolutions state that peace would be established in the area if a just comprehensive settlement is reached--that is, peace for land. But this means nothing more than an end to the state of war. The establishment of normal relations with another country is the 'sovereign right' of each country, and each country may make any decision it wishes to make in that regard."



Muhammad ibn Hamad Al Khalifah: "I expect a state or a Palestinian mini-state will be established in the West Bank and in Gaza, and I expect that state will join Jordan in a confederation. This solution meets Israel's minimum demands. Also all initiatives and ongoing communications regarding the Middle East point in that direction. The establishment of a Palestinian government in exile will only be a preparatory step for such a solution. As far as the Camp David Accords are concerned, I think Egypt will abrogate them whether or not a solution to the Palestinian question is achieved. The accords will be abrogated under two conditions: first, as soon as a new regime takes over power in Egypt; that is, before that new regime makes any new international contacts that would compel it to maintain the status quo. Second, the accords will be abrogated when Egypt achieves some kind of military balance with Israel. I do not believe that Arab countries will establish diplomatic relations with Israel even if a solution to the Palestinian question is reached. In addition, historical facts indicate that Israel itself would refuse to have that lest it drown in an ocean of Arabs. Israel is basically a military state; if it ceases to have that character, it will be subject to disintegration."

Riyad Najib al-Rayyis: "Despite the Arab nation's drawbacks, it is inevitable that Egypt will regain its role in it sometime. Egypt is part of that nation's history; it is part of its struggle, its past and its future. Egypt, which turned its back on the Arab world when it signed the peace agreement with Israel will have to abrogate that agreement one way or another so it can regain its role in history. I do not expect diplomatic relations between Israel and the Arab countries whether or not there is a just solution to the Palestinian question because what that just solution is will continue to be the subject of considerable controversy in the Arab world for a long time to come. Israel wants neither a just nor an unjust solution. The self-evident political facts indicate that a solution would contradict the principles upon which the state of Israel is based and conflict with the entire Zionist philosophy."

George Sa'adah: "I do not think it likely that an independent Palestinian state will be established on the West Bank for the following reason: the West Bank is a political, economic and social fact that puts pressure on Israel. Its geographic, economic and historical importance is strategic in Israeli politics. The West Bank goes beyond the traditional framework of Israel's national security argument, and it becomes an expression of Israel's right to survive. This is how the settlement policy adopted by successive Israeli governments can be explained. The Arab-Israeli conflict is not a political conflict that can end with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Arabs and Israel. It is a material-cultural conflict. If that conflict were to end, it would not end with the establishment of material-cultural relations between the Arabs and the Jews. The Palestinian question is one aspect of that conflict or rather it is one of its manifestations. And the other aspects of that conflict will not go away whether or not a just solution to that question is reached. It is this in fact that is the predicament of the Camp David Accords. If Egypt does abrogate the Camp David Accords, that will be the reason why it abrogates them and not because a just solution to the Palestinian cause has not been reached."

Minah al-Sulh: "I think that the Palestinian movement, which is supported by the Arab people, must achieve its objective of establishing its political identity as an international sovereign state. To me there is no difference between the

establishment of a Palestinian state in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank and an independent state that joins Jordan in a confederation. Both solutions would only come about after a victorious political and military struggle. I do, however, believe that a protracted struggle would unite Palestine and Jordan and would make a confederation between them based on equality a fact that needs only to be proclaimed. If a just solution to the Palestinian question is not achieved, I expect Egypt to abrogate the peace treaty with Israel. The importance of that peace treaty lies in the fact that it is a step toward a comprehensive settlement. If no comprehensive settlement is reached, then the regional and international rationale upon which the Egyptian-Israeli agreement is based would be discredited. If that agreement is not abrogated, it would become an organic alliance between Israel and Egypt against the Arab region, and that would conflict with Egypt's interests as well as the Arabs' interests. History affirms that Israel was created to fight Egypt first and then the other Arabs. How then can Egypt be outside the battle in Israel's conflict with the region?"

#### No Change in U.S.-Israeli Relations

[Question] If a just solution to the Palestinian question is reached, do you expect the nature of U.S.-Israeli relations to change by the onset of the 21st century?

The experts questioned by AL-MAJALLAH concurred that there would be no change in U.S.-Israeli relations by the year 2000 whether or not a peaceful solution to the Palestinian question is reached. However, there were possibilities that such a change could come about, such as Kahane coming to power in Israel.

Muhammad al-Hallaq: "The change in U.S.-Israeli relations requires more than conciliation between the Arabs and Israelis. It requires an end to the confrontation with the Soviet Union, and it requires an end to the hostility Americans feel toward the peoples of the Third World. Israel is part of the United States' global strategy. And that is why I do not think it likely that America's policy toward Israel will change. The only way this relationship can change is that there be an upset in the balance of power whereby Egypt's partnership with Israel would become risky and burdensome."

Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim: "Relations between the United States and Israel will continue to be as they are today as long as there is conflict among Arabs and as long as the Arab region and the East remain a sphere of competition. However, if the expectations about Arab integration and the establishment of regional unions, which I voiced in answering other questions, turn out to be true, the sharpness of the conflict between the two superpowers may be reduced. In addition, other superpowers, like Japan, China and perhaps even Western Europe, may enter the picture. The international powers--and the Arabs themselves may become such powers--may become numerous, and that would help change these relations and bring about a conciliation between Palestinians and Jews in a secular, democratic society."

Prince 'Abdallah ibn Faysal ibn Turki: "American public opinion, political institutions in the United States and the U.S. government may wake up one day and free themselves from Israeli domination. U.S. policy in the Middle East may

become free and independent of Israeli domination. U.S. policy may once again become honest and fair just as it was for brief periods of time in the distant past."

Muhammad ibn Hamad Al Khalifah: "U.S.-Israeli relations will change under two circumstances: first, if the United States feels that the Arab world is willing to assume the positions that are necessary to protect its interests; and, second, if a comprehensive settlement is established in the Middle East. Such a settlement would definitely be reached with the Soviet Union's approval. The Soviet Union would then comply with Jewish immigration requests and establish diplomatic relations with Israel. That would necessitate the establishment of some kind of balance between U.S.-Israeli relations and Soviet-Israeli relations."

'Addid Dawishah: "I do not expect U.S.-Israeli relations to change by the year 2000, considering the manner in which the U.S. Congress operates. The only factor that can affect U.S.-Israeli relations is a change in American Jews' support for Israel. Their opposition to the rapprochement between the United States and Arab countries, such as that which is now taking place between Egypt and the United States, must decline. The only scenario that I think could change the attitude of American Jews toward Israel is one in which Israeli right-wing extremism would continue; one in which Meir Kahane's role in Israeli politics would grow; or one in which eastern Jews would win in the elections and assume important positions of leadership which would change Israel's pro-western character."

Clovis Maqsud: "It is known that U.S.-Israeli relations are unique. Two years ago they were upgraded to official strategic cooperation. Therefore, the relationship between Washington and Tel Aviv cannot easily be broken. Once we accept that, we can say that any comprehensive settlement--and this is merely conjecture on my part--would have to be the product of changes in the balance of powers in the region. These would be changes that the United States would have to accept. And even if that were to happen, a change in U.S.-Israeli relations would not be inevitable even though the United States may have to back off somewhat from its absolute support for Israel's objectives and policies."

Nabil Ya'qub al-Hamar: "There will be no comprehensive settlement as long as Israel exists. That is why by the end of the century there will be no change favorable to the Arabs in U.S.-Israeli relations."

Jihad al-Khazin: "Any change in U.S.-Israeli relations will be one that tends to strengthen and reinforce those relations at the Arabs' expense, if that is at all possible. Today, those relations are so close that Israel has all the advantages of being a state without having any of the responsibilities a state would have toward the federal government. Some people claim that such total Israeli exploitation of the United States will inevitably have a harmful effect on Israel. However, we feel that such an opinion is an example of wishful thinking and is not supported by the facts."

Mohamed Benyehya: "I do not expect any change at all in U.S.-Israeli relations. It would be wrong to expect such a change because those relations are strategic

ones. The United States considers Israel the only 'constant factor' in the Middle East, and that means that Israel is the only state whose long term and short term political future can be predicted by the United States."

Wahid Ra'fat: "No. There will be no change in U.S.-Israeli relations."

Muhammad al-'Alami: "I believe that U.S.-Israeli relations will never change. Preserving and fostering those relations are the only constant factors in U.S. policy because Jews are everywhere in U.S. society, economics and politics. They are everywhere in the media, and Israel is generally considered an American state in the Middle East."

'Abd-al-Wahid ibn Mas'ud: "The principle that has become obvious and well-known is that some countries change or strengthen their relations with another country because that would serve their interests. The United States will not abandon Israel even if it had important interests in the Arab world. This is because Israel has the support of pressure groups in the United States."

Minah al-Sulh: "If there is a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, I would expect to see some change in U.S.-Israeli relations. Developments in the Arab-Israeli conflict indicated that there are four concepts which become one when the Arabs are weak. When the Arabs are strong, however, these concepts are distinguishable. They are Judaism, Zionism, Israel and U.S. policy. When Arab power begins to carry more weight, Judaism will begin to say that it is something other than Zionism; Zionism will begin to disavow its total embodiment in Israel; and U.S. policy will say that its interests are independent of those of Zionism and Israel. If the settlement that is reached is favorable to the Arabs, we would then see this series of mutual disassociations becoming reality."

George Sa'adah: "To answer this question one must make four matters clear. In its dealings with the Soviet Union the United States is pursuing an obstructive rather than a confrontational policy in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East. It is Israel that is hindering the Soviet Union without confronting it. But the Soviet Union has not withdrawn from the area; it is trying to infiltrate the warm waters of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, and Israel is playing a role to block that infiltration. But what are the United States' and the Soviet Union's objectives as they vie with each other to deploy tremendous naval powers in the Mediterranean? Israel has a strategic position in the East Mediterranean. De Gaulle had regarded Israel the basis for tension in the East Mediterranean and the reason for the division among Arab countries into two spheres of influence. In light of these four facts we realize Israel's importance in serving the objectives and interests of U.S. policy. Accordingly, the settlement that we are talking about is, in my opinion, a means and not an end. That is why I do not think there will be a settlement in the foreseeable future because the Arab-Israeli conflict serves purposes that go way beyond those of a partial understanding of international relations. U.S.-Israeli relations are solid and strategic; their chief characteristic is that Israel should remain stronger than its Arab neighbors. Israel serves U.S. interests which are based on foiling the Soviet Union's efforts to gain some influence or real interests in the area. The U.S.-Soviet conflict to dominate this region is a political, military and ideological conflict. By comparison, the United States has a vital interest in

preserving the region's tranquility and keeping other parties from interfering in the region's affairs. This is the predominant, traditional tendency of U.S. policy. It means the stability of Arab regimes and the preservation of Israel's security. Therefore, the United States is trying to find a settlement between these regimes and Israel. But the United States will stay on Israel's side, whether it fails or succeeds in that effort, and there will be no change in relations between these two countries because the purpose of those relations goes beyond the framework of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The fundamental constant factor in U.S. policy is that Israel maintain its military superiority whether or not it is at peace with the Arabs."

Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi: "Yes, the Arab Map Will Be Changed!"

The questions that Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, leader of the National Party in Sudan chose to answer follow. Mr. al-Mahdi answered these questions in the course of presenting his views on the political outlook for the Arab homeland by the beginning of the next century.

[Question] Do you expect there will be a radical change in the map of the Arab world? If you do expect such a change, why?

[Answer] Yes, I do expect there will be a change in the map of the Arab world because the setback from which the Arab world has been suffering since the 1967 defeat has gone as far as it can go. I believe that two factors gave shape to that setback and developed it throughout the Arab world. The first is the Camp David agreement, which turned Israel into a 'High Porte' in the Middle East. In other words, that agreement gave Israel control and dominance over the region because the largest, unifying Arab force was taken out of the Arab picture. The second factor which developed that setback is the ongoing war in the gulf, and that is a destructive and a meaningless war. When we look at Iran, we see a country that ought to stand alongside the Arabs against Israel; but instead, we find Iran involved in that war which in the final analysis is playing a role side by side with Camp David to destroy Arab capabilities, undermine the Arab position and consolidate Israeli superiority. For these reasons I believe the Arab map will be changed. There are, however, factors that counter this reality. The first such factor is the steadfastness and resistance of the Lebanese people. That has shown Israel that the Arabs can stand up to it even if official resistance to it collapses. The second factor is the revolution which took place in Sudan: the official position here used to be one that supported Camp David. The third factor is the appearance of early signs of senility in Israeli society and the appearance of many other indicators of that society's artificial and decaying nature.

[Question] How do you think the Palestinian question will develop?

[Answer] I do not think that one decisive blow will bring about the end of Israel, but I do expect Israel will disintegrate in the Middle East over a long period of time because the Islamic nation--despite all the setbacks--is continuously experiencing an awakening. Arab nationalism among the Arab peoples is also on the rise. Education, capabilities, technology, resources, morale, confidence etc. in the Arab world are continuing to grow. Israel is faced with a swelling tide of Arabs around it and within it, and that tide will continue to



swell even as Israel's internal makeup of Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews undergoes setbacks and the country's domestic disintegration continues because of the economic problem. This is because Israel is a military arsenal that lacks the basic elements of an economy. The alliance between Israel and South Africa could fail, and the United States may abandon its strategic alliance with Israel so that it can redress its national interests in the region. The presence of these factors will ultimately bring about the end of Zionism as an international movement; it will bring about an end to Israel as a Zionist tool. But the presence of Jews in the region, based on coexisting with the region's natives, is something that I believe can be regulated. That is why I see in the future a Jewish presence with no Zionist aims and objectives, a presence that would be homogeneous with the region in the context of a peaceful, cultural, economic existence, and so on. This is my view of what will happen in the future regardless of internal defeats. This is because the idea of Israel, conceived by Zionism to be a permanent solution and conceived by colonialism to serve as a western base in the region, has been proven impractical. All historical pressures indicate that it will vanish.

[Question] If no solution to the Palestinian question is found, do you expect the Camp David agreement to be abrogated?

[Answer] The Camp David agreement has in fact been abrogated because it is basically a two-part agreement between Egypt and Israel. The first part begins with the return of occupied Egyptian Arab land in Sinai and ends with the normalization of relations between the two countries. Accordingly, relations between Israel and Egypt would be like those between Egypt and any other country. The second part of the agreement has to do with the establishment of an autonomous region in whose context a solution to the Palestinian problem could be found. The first part of the agreement, which has to do with returning Sinai, has been implemented, even though Sinai's sovereignty leaves something to be desired. But the part that has to do with the normalization of relations was abrogated by the Egyptian people. Furthermore, Israel's conduct with the Palestinians and the Lebanese assured official Egyptian leaders that Israel is not serious about peace and Palestine. Israel is continuing its settlement policy, and it is continuing to seize Arab land. In my opinion Camp David failed, and Egyptian officials are now worried about Egypt's relationship with Israel. If Israeli policies continue to violate the meaning of peace--and they most certainly will continue--not only will ambassadors be recalled, but relations will finally be broken off. I expected that to happen after the attack on Tunisia, but it will happen after Israel commits its next foolish act--and Israel will undoubtedly commit a foolish act. It is that which will mark the end of the nominal existence of the Camp David agreement.

[Question] If there should be a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, do you expect U.S.-Israeli relations to change?

[Answer] U.S.-Israeli relations will change without a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. If Zionists want to make Jews in the United States apply continuous pressure on Washington, forcing it to assume positions favorable to Israel but ultimately against the United States' national interests, the result of that will be an American reaction to decrease the extent of such exploitation which achieves the Zionists' supreme objectives. It is inevitable that this will

happen whether or not the interim interests of America's present leaders coincide with those of Israel's existence. The error and danger of Zionist ideology will become evident not only to Americans, but also to Jews who are aware and knowledgeable. That is why we are now beginning to hear about intellectual Jews, like Yuri Avneri, who are thinking about the future of their existence in this region without Zionism. There are many Americans who recognize the basic contradiction between U.S. national interests and Israel's expansionist policy. I believe that one day this will create a split, but that change will depend on the vigilance of the Arab people. As Arabs become more aware and more vigilant, the conflict between U.S. national interests and Israel's expansionist policy will become clearer.

[Question] If a just solution to the Palestinian question is reached, do you expect there will be diplomatic relations between Israel and the other Arab countries?

[Answer] As I said before, Israel will be completely absorbed in the Middle East. In other words it will become a Jewish entity that has nothing to do with Zionist aims and objectives; it will become completely integrated with the countries of the Middle East.

[Question] What do you expect will happen in Lebanon?

[Answer] Lebanon will mirror the Arab nation's rise or fall. There are two principal tendencies in Lebanon. The first one is anti-Arab: it is the tendency that is breaking up Lebanon and dividing it into mini-sectarian states and spheres of influence. If that happens, it will reflect the collapse of the Arabs. The second tendency is the opposite of the first: if the Arabs rise, that rise will be reflected in Lebanon, and that means that a just political equation will be found. That equation will contain sectarian conflicts and internal disputes, and it will prevent the partitioning or the division of Lebanon into spheres of influence for various countries. Despite the difficulties it is facing, I expect Lebanon to continue to reject partitioning until the equation that achieves its unity is found. Such an equation would be consistent with supreme Arab interests.

[Question] How do you see relations between Iraq and Iran developing?

[Answer] I believe that no religious or national issue can be settled by war. There is evidence of that, especially now in the ongoing conflict between Iran and Iraq. That development in itself is regrettable, but it affirms that war cannot settle this dispute.

It is inevitable that the war will come to an end because nothing logical can come out of it. I believe that formulas for coexistence can be found to settle the dispute between the ethnic groups. There are many countries now that have ethnic groups coexisting together. The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are examples of such countries.

I believe that many thinkers on both sides are preoccupied with this matter. I will launch a major effort in this regard after the general elections in Sudan

to unite the people of the tribes. I believe that religious and national conflicts between people can only be solved by coexistence and understanding such as that which we are trying to achieve. But I do not expect the ongoing war to achieve any of the two parties' wishes.

[Question] Do you expect to see positive, democratic developments in the Arab world that would put an end to military coups and military regimes?

[Answer] I do expect positive, democratic developments in the Arab world. By then, Arab politics would have matured, and [Arab regimes] would then be able to use civilized methods to govern.

Dr Taj-al-Din al-Husayn: "No Comprehensive Arab Unity"

Dr Taj-al-Din al-Husayn is a professor of international relations in Muhammad V University in Rabat. Although his contribution to our topic on the Arabs in the year 2000 arrived after the deadline date, we are presenting a summary of his ideas because they are important.

Dr al-Husayn does not believe that the situation will continue as it is now because constancy and stability are unknown in international relations. It's as though international relations were like the shifting sands [of the desert]. In his opinion, however, the anticipated change in those relations will not bring about a comprehensive Arab unity because all previous attempts to achieve unity failed. These attempts failed for one basic reason: they were based on emotion; they emanated from the top; they were made by society's upper political strata; and they ignored the needs of the public and of grass roots organizations. If unity is to be achieved over a long period of time, the Arabs will have to correct the way they think about it. They will have to begin their efforts to achieve unity with a rational approach; they will have to begin with the approach used by Europe to achieve its unity.

Dr Taj-al-Din al-Husayn talks about developments in the Palestinian question from the point which has currently been reached by that question. He talks about ongoing peace efforts to establish a Palestinian state that would join Jordan in a confederation. Israel is obstructing that effort. Dr al-Husayn raises an important point of international law, which states that any confederation that is established must be established between independent, sovereign states. That necessarily means that an independent Palestinian state will have to be created before a confederation with Jordan can be established. However, as a result of Israel's well-known positions of obstructing the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, conditions in the region will be frozen unless a comprehensive settlement is reached. Not only would the parties to the dispute take part in such a settlement, but also the two superpowers.

Dr al-Husayn does not believe that Egypt will abrogate the Camp David agreement because that agreement is tied basically to U.S. economic aid to Egypt. Because of poor economic conditions in Egypt, no one expects Egypt to take that step in the near future. Regarding the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations between the Arabs and Israel if there is a just settlement, Dr al-Husayn thinks there would be nothing to prevent that from happening, now that diplomatic relations between Egypt and Israel have become a fact of life.

Dr Taj-al-Din al-Husayn does not believe that there will be any change in U.S.-Israeli relations in the future because in his opinion the priorities of those relations are not related to the Arab-Israeli conflict, but rather to more important strategic considerations. It is these considerations that led to Israel being considered the advanced fortress of influence and U.S. defense in the region. The United States is no longer confident that even the moderate forces in the region, who are its allies, would carry out its wishes there.

Regarding future relations between Arab countries and the two superpowers, Dr al-Husayn thinks that these relations will be tainted by some kind of subordination. He thinks that there may be a new period of accord in U.S.-Soviet relations after the meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev. This accord would be achieved at the expense of Third World countries, and that includes the Arab countries. If we accept the notion that a policy of peaceful coexistence is one that would achieve the common interests of both countries involved--and that, of course, can be achieved at the expense of Arab countries--then as spheres of influence are distributed and as these spheres of influence are exploited to sell weapons, the two superpowers would continue to maintain the balance of power between them by having these limited regional wars continue.

Dr al-Husayn does not expect any good to come out of relations between Iraq and Iran in the future because he is convinced that the war is no longer a war over the borders between two countries. He is convinced that the war has turned into an ethnic, Arab-Persian conflict.

But Dr al-Husayn does expect to see positive developments in democracy in the Arab world as a result of increased awareness. He thinks that this will consolidate representative institutions and put an end to military regimes in the near future.

Shaykh Tahir Radwan: "Islamic Movements That Are Based on Shari'ah Will Dominate!"

Shaykh Tahir Radwan is regarded as the indisputable dean of Arab diplomats. He has been involved in Arab politics for over 40 years, and he is still making contributions to Arab politics as Saudi Arabia's permanent representative to the Arab League. Shaykh Radwan was involved in Arab politics before the league was established, and he is now its oldest representative. He took part in all the league's summit conferences and in all its ministerial meetings. He also chaired many of its committees for 37 years.

[Question] Do you expect there will be a radical change in the map of the Arab world, and if so why?

[Answer] I believe you probably mean the political map. If that is what you mean, then I do not expect any negative change. However, the possibility for a positive change is something that will have to be determined by what is in the common interest, and it will have to be accepted by the Arab people simultaneously. This is because changing the political map of people who are bound together by common values and traditions as well as by a common language, common history and a common destiny would not bring about the objectives that are being sought unless that change were done in accordance with a common conviction and a common wish and unless circumstances for it were opportune.

[Question] Do you expect some form of comprehensive Arab unity will be established, or do you expect regional coalitions to be established? How will this be done? Or will the situation continue to be as it is today?

[Answer] I cannot foresee comprehensive Arab unity being achieved in this century, even though this is something that every Arab hopes for. We know that attempts were made during the past 40 years to establish political unions between Arab countries, but we know that these attempts failed. They failed for many reasons, but this is not the place for listing them. We must also not forget that international policies had a negative attitude toward such an objective. It would be possible, however, to establish regional coalitions like the Gulf Cooperation Council, and such coalitions could serve the interests of the Arab people. The authors of the Arab League's charter understood that concept over 40 years ago when they wrote Article Nine of the charter, which states that "Arab League member countries that wish to establish closer cooperation and stronger ties than those outlined in the charter may enter into such agreements to achieve those objectives."

[Question] If the Arab countries maintain their present identities, do you expect there will be greater coordination between them on political matters through a loose political coalition modeled after the European Economic Community?

[Answer] I may not agree with your usage of the term, "loose," because ever since the Rome Agreement was signed--and it was on the basis of that agreement that this community was established--this European community has been able to achieve significant and fundamental economic benefits for itself. The ultimate objective of those who thought of establishing this community was to begin with economic cooperation and integration and end ultimately with political unity. Although the countries of the European Community have not yet achieved that objective, and despite the disputes that develop from time to time between its members, many economic and political benefits have undoubtedly been achieved by that coalition. But in view of the numerous dangers that Arab countries did face and are still facing, one may expect these countries to sense in the future the need for stronger and more comprehensive coordination between them on political affairs. Such coordination would not compromise their independent identities. One may expect that in the future, despite the disputes that appear now on the surface. These disputes are actually nothing more than emotional, marginal disputes that have nothing at all to do with crucial issues. Or let's say they are differences about choosing the ideal method to achieve the common goal.

[Question] What is the future of the Arab League in any one of the previous spheres? Will its role fade or flourish? Will it be abolished completely because of the need for a more effective Arab organization?

[Answer] I do not believe the Arab League will be abolished or replaced by a more effective Arab organization. Ever since it was established the Arab League has from time to time faced crises, difficulties and problems--and it is still facing them--especially in the political field. These difficulties and problems have impeded its efforts to carry out the functions for which it was established. Most of these crises and difficulties, however, were due to the



positions of those Arab countries that for some time wanted to control the league's course. The difficulties were also due to other Arab countries that wanted to use the league to achieve their own private objectives and goals. We may well wonder here: What is the Arab League? Is it the organization's secretary general? Is it its staff? Is it the building where it is located? Actually, the Arab League is the Arab countries, or as it's always been said, it is an organization that mirrors the relations and prevailing policies between the Arab countries. It is an organization that reflects improvements and setbacks in relations between those countries; it is an organization that reflects their agreements and their disagreements. When this league was established 40 years ago, it never occurred to anyone that it was being established for a certain objective or for a certain, finite period of time. The Arab countries established the Arab League, as the league's charter states, "to strengthen the close relations and numerous ties between Arab countries in an effort to support and strengthen those ties, establish closer relations between the member countries, and coordinate their political plans."

International and regional organizations are not established to last for a specific period of time or to serve specific objectives and then cease to exist. If the question is a reference to prevailing relations between the Arab countries at this stage--and those relations are casting a shadow on the Arab League--then I would say that similar or perhaps even worse disputes are prevalent in other international and regional organizations, starting with the United Nations and ending with various regional organizations all of which are facing problems, disputes, difficulties and impediments that are not less than what the Arab League is facing. Nevertheless, we've not heard anyone ask for these organizations to be abolished or replaced by more effective organizations. But let's assume that the Arab League would be abolished, where then would an Arab country go when it has a political, security or economic problem? Where would an Arab country turn when there is need for common Arab cooperation? How would Arab officials meet if they were not to meet under the auspices of this Arab organization? Would we go directly to the United Nations to present our problems and discuss our issues and our Arab relations? Or would we go to another organization? We ask this question of those who say every once in a while, because of the pessimism they feel about prevailing Arab conditions, that the Arab League is useless and that it consequently must be abolished. We tell them that the Arab League's role will flourish when Arab countries have the will to join forces under its auspices in all areas of common Arab action to achieve the goals that are being sought.

[Question] Do you expect parochial sentiments to flourish or to decline?

[Answer] Man in general is inclined to think favorably about associating himself with a specific human community, in as much as he feels that his association with that community serves his interests and gives him a sense of peace and security. An Arab's feelings are not different in any way. If an Arab feels that his interests are served by an association with a regional group, his feelings for that group will flourish. But if he becomes convinced that an association with what is greater than that will achieve for him--even if it is over a long period of time--more security and peace, he will associate himself with the greater Arab homeland.

[Question] What will be the ideological tendencies that will be contending with each other in the Arab homeland then? What will flourish then: Arab nationalism, Islamic tendencies, or the partisan and imported ideological tendencies?

[Answer] I have no doubt that Islamic tendencies which follow the principles of the tolerant laws of Islam are those that will flourish. This is the only way that everyone must work for. Imported tendencies, however, will not survive or withstand the test of time because they are not compatible with the nation's doctrine or its heritage. The only goal these imported tendencies have is that of containing the people and using them to serve the interests of those who advocate them. Those who were alive before World War II and during that war know quite well that during that period imported tendencies like Nazism and Fascism appeared in the Arab world. Some Arabs then went along with these tendencies and were deceived by them. Then these tendencies vanished along with their advocates, leaving behind nothing but harm and shattered hopes.

[Question] If there is a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, do you expect change in U.S.-Israeli relations?

[Answer] Frankly, I do not expect any change in those relations for two principal reasons. First, because Israel's geographic location in the region is a basic factor in U.S. policy, which is dictated by U.S. strategy for the foreseeable future; and, second, because of Zionist economic control in the United States and the infiltration of the Zionist lobby into all sectors of the American media. The Zionist lobby employs other such methods to maintain its influence. It may be useful in this regard to re-read Paul Findley's book, entitled, "They Dare To Speak." Paul Findley is a former member of the U.S. Congress. By re-reading Mr Findley's book we can find out about the powerful influence of the Zionist lobby and the scare tactics it uses to achieve its goals of maintaining U.S.-Israeli relations in a manner that would be favorable to Israel.

[Question] If a just settlement of the Palestinian question is reached, do you expect diplomatic relations between Israel and the other Arab countries to be established?

[Answer] There is in fact no connection between reaching a solution to the Palestinian question and establishing those relations that you referred to in your question. This is because a just solution to this question would not at all be predicated on establishing such diplomatic relations. International law does not compel any country to establish diplomatic relations with another. Diplomatic relations are subject to every state's national sovereignty and wishes: any state may decide whether or not it wishes to establish diplomatic relations with another country. UN resolutions and resolutions issued by other organizations do not include such conditions, nor do any of the initiatives that were set in motion to solve the question of Palestine.

[Question] How do you see relations between the Arab world and the two superpowers?

[Answer] It is known that international policies are based on what is beneficial and advantageous and not on aligned positions or expressions of

emotions. When the Arabs believe that principle, use it and abide by it in their international dealings and when they settle their own disputes and achieve their own solidarity, they will then be able to use their distinguished capabilities and energies and put them to work in their relations with the two superpowers or with other countries to bring about a just and permanent solution to the Palestinian problem and to other Arab questions as well.

#### Ghassan Tuwayni: Plans for Unity Are Dreams from Another Age

AL-MAJALLAH questioned Ghassan Tuwayni, Lebanon's former representative at the United Nations and a distinguished politician and journalist in his own right. AL-MAJALLAH asked him questions about the Arabs in the year 2000. The following interview followed:

[Question] Do you expect some kind of comprehensive Arab unity to be established, or do you expect regional coalitions to be established? How do you think that will come about? Or do you think the situation will continue to be as it is now?

[Answer] At the present time it is small entities rather than large ones that seem predominant. This is at least what outside appearances tell us. Widespread separatist tendencies here and there in the Arab world or in any other place are the best evidence of that. Plans for unity appear as though they were dreams from another age; they appear as glories left behind by time in the rush of events and the onslaught of change, some of which has been tainted with the blood of thousands of victims. Does this mean that we abandon our aspirations for unity? Of course not. But what unity are we talking about? There is no doubt that Arab formulas for unity which have been known so far have suffered bitter defeat. And that makes it impossible to ignore the need to look for new formulas, for a new unity and for a new framework that would bring together nations that are similar or close to each other. Such formulas, unions or frameworks should preclude the possibility of one nation "swallowing" the other, "dominating" it, threatening it or depriving it of anything whatsoever. Anyone who has a geopolitical sense and is not a historical dreamer would be able to see at least four worlds when he looks at a map of the Arab world. The basic elements for real unity can be found in these four worlds, and such unity is possible if we follow a gradual, practical approach.

The Arab will continue to dream of unity as long as man continues to dream of linking himself with something that is more beautiful, stronger and greater than he is. However, the dream will remain a dream unless our policy is guided by practical ideas instead of moral nostalgia.

[Question] What is the future of the Arab League? Will its role fade or flourish? Will it be finally abolished because a more effective Arab organization is needed?

[Answer] The league's problem has been that its name has always been bigger than its role, and its role has been smaller than Arab disputes. This role fades or flourishes depending on two matters: [first], the agreement or disagreement of states that are playing an active part in the league and are capable of setting its wheels in motion and letting it play a principal role. [Second], new

blood will have to be introduced into the league's management so that all barriers and considerations can be overcome. This new management would resolve to make the league an institution that commands respect and does not yield to power games.

You asked me if the league will be abolished. But is that the question that ought to be asked? Abolishing the league would be totally meaningless if the Arab organization that will replace it will be created by the same people who are impeding the league's work. We don't have to change the organization's form because the fault does not lie in the form. The fault lies in the organization's foundation and in the fact that the league has been made to carry the burden of past mistakes and sins. It has not kept pace with Arab development; it has not adjusted to Arab ambitions; nor has it grasped the dangers that are staring us all in the face.

[Question] Do you expect parochial feelings to flourish or to fade?

[Answer] The wave of "parochial feelings," as you call it, will have to run its course. However, it is the economic factor that controls such waves by preventing them from losing control and bringing them back to reality. The interdependence of parts of the world is normal. Separatism is a reaction and not an action, and reactions are ephemeral phenomena.

[Question] How do you think the Palestinian question will develop? Do you think there will be an independent Palestinian state on all of Palestine, or will there be a Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip? Will there be an independent state that will join Jordan in a confederation, or will there be a total union between Jordan, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip? Do you think the situation will continue to be as it is now, or do you have any other ideas about that?

[Answer] I fear what the Arabs must fear, and that is that the situation will continue to be as it is now. This is not because other plans that have been set forth are impossible to achieve, but it is because the division between Arab countries over these plans is based on the interests of one government, the selfishness of another and the shortsightedness of yet another. And that will cause us to lose one opportunity for a settlement after another. What we refuse today will become what we will ask for tomorrow. And that fiendish sequence will hold us in its grip for over half a century. Our way out of this vicious circle, or what could stop this serious decline, may lie in an effort to mobilize effective Arab energies to bring about a strategic balance that would make us fight today's war today, instead of fighting yesterday's war today and rejecting today's peace tomorrow.

[Question] If there is a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, do you expect there will be change in U.S.-Israeli relations?

[Answer] Every Arab-American rapprochement that comes about as a result of a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East will have an effect on U.S.-Israeli relations. This means it will create a balance which is now missing in Washington's dealings with the Arabs and with Israel. This balance will

undoubtedly be favorable to the Arabs. Therefore, it would be natural to expect Israel to make every effort to prevent such an Arab-American rapprochement and, in fact, to prevent that comprehensive settlement.

[Question] How do you see relations between the Arab world and the two superpowers?

[Answer] I see them as balanced, not polarizing relations. It is the Arabs who have to accept and seize that balance from the two superpowers; they must not wait for the two superpowers to lure them into accepting it as a gift. Politics is a matter of benefits, and countries, particularly the superpowers, are not charitable societies. If we want to "take" something from them, we have to be confident that we have something "to give" them in return. When the Arabs have something to give, in most cases they do not know how to ask for the appropriate price in return.

[Question] How do you expect conditions in Lebanon will develop? Will Lebanon regain its national unity under a new national charter? Will it be partitioned into sectarian cantons that would be joined together by a loose alliance? Will Syria annex a larger part of Lebanon while Israel controls the south? Do you have other ideas or expectations about what might happen in Lebanon?

[Answer] What is happening in Lebanon now is that Lebanon is being partitioned on a confessional and not just a sectarian basis. In fact, there are sometimes two or three partitions in one division. Talking about a piecemeal settlement won't do, nor will talking about going back to a past that will never return. I cannot imagine a solution to Lebanon's problems that does not stem from the total outcome of those wars which other people have been fighting on our land since 1975. A solution will have to stem from all the existing facts and all the conclusions which are still dissipated by the winds of division, hostility and enmity as they wait for someone to forge them into a creative proposal. It is certain that there are differences among the Lebanese, and it is certain that these differences could be worked out without dividing the people, provided we find a formula that is proper, sound, healthy and viable. It is certain that an occupied Lebanon or a Lebanon that may be lying under its own debris will always score a victory over occupation and over death. It is certain that the Lebanese people's will to live will protect them, not from each other, but from those who would manipulate their conflicts and differences. This will has gained the upperhand, and it will continue to have the upper hand over despair and all conspiracies. If the Lebanese people were left alone to act freely, they will inevitably come up with the best framework for the life they share, and they will do that with the help of friendly and fraternal forces and countries. The framework they will come up with will be one that respects sectarian privacy; it will be one within which society's blessings--those of its people and its individuals--will materialize.

What has been established during recent events along with the false solutions that coincided with those events, such as the false security and the false wars, cannot lead to peace. War broke out in Lebanon, but that war today, more than any other day in the past, is still a war in which victory is impossible. What makes such victory as well as peace even more impossible lies in the efforts



that outside parties "invest" in that war whenever one of the parties makes an effort to bring about peace.

[Question] Do you expect positive, democratic change to be made in the Arab world so as to put an end to military coups and regimes?

[Answer] In order for that to happen there must be a major revolution of awareness.

#### The Arabs between the Two Superpowers: Balance Will Determine Relations

[Question] What do you think the Arab world's relations with the two superpowers will be like early in the 21st century?

Thinkers questioned by AL-MAJALLAH agree about the future of relations with the two superpowers early in the 21st century. They agree that the Arabs will re-evaluate their relations with the United States if it continues its blatant support for Israel; and they agree that Arab countries will gradually get closer to the Soviet Union even though some of them believe that by then there will be a greater superpower which will reduce the danger of polarization between the Americans and the Soviets.

Muhammad ibn Hamad Al Khalifah: "Arab-Soviet relations will certainly grow and flourish at the expense of Arab-American relations. The Arabs' resentment for American practices and policies and their refusal to accept those practices and policies, which we see happening now in the Arab world, will bring about that result. Also, the desire to establish some kind of balance in relations with the two superpowers has led countries that are friendly with the United States to establish relations with Moscow. There is no doubt in my mind that this tendency will become stronger and more powerful in the future".

'Adid Dawishah: "In general, the Arab countries' relations with the Soviet Union will remain strong as long as the Arab-Israeli dispute continues, even though the Arabs are more comfortable psychologically, emotionally and culturally with the western countries."

Mohamed Benyehya: "It seems to me that this relationship will change significantly because of the nature of existing tensions in the region and the mutual attraction between religious and national tendencies. In addition, the United States' hegemony in the Arab region is declining. But that is not due to a specific struggle or to specific anti-American movements; it is rather due to the vital interests of groups that have influence in the Arab world. These interests have begun to be affected by America, and that is why I believe the Arab world's relations with the two superpowers will be balanced in the future."

Nabil Ya'qub al-Hamar: "There will be some changes in the Arab countries' relations with the two superpowers. However, these relations will not affect the general situation in the Arab countries. Relations that many Arab countries have with the United States may be affected because of its attitude toward our issues. However, those changes will not go beyond political relations. At the same time Arab-soviet relations will get closer, but only in the political area."

Clovis Maqsd: "The Arab world adheres to a policy of non-alignment and has always tried to stay out of the competition and conflict between the two superpowers. It is difficult, however, to speak about these relations without making reference to the tensions that affect Arab-American relations as a result of America's blatant bias for Israel. The United States embraces Israel's aggressive policy, and it provides Israel with protection in the international community, not to mention its growing military and economic support for that country."

Muhammad al-'Alami: "It seems to me that relations between the Arab world and the two superpowers will change and that they will become balanced."

Ahmad Sidqi al-Dajjani: "I expect the intellectual tendency which emerged in our region in the fifties to gain strength. That movement believes that it is necessary to change the world system so as to put an end to the polarization between the two superpowers so that the bloc of non-aligned nations can emerge. Therefore, what I expect in the next two decades is more action to build up the group of non-aligned countries. That would enhance the possibility for more balanced relations with the two superpowers, and that would spare us the dangers of having our region become an area of tension between them."

Prince 'Abdallah Faysal ibn Turki: "Some improvement may ensue when relations with one superpower are evaluated and when relations with the other become closer. But the current situation, which is unfair to Arab countries, may continue. The political-economic equation is not favorable to the Arab countries".

Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim: "If the projected regional coalitions in the Arab world turn out to be true, the Arabs' negotiating capabilities with the superpowers will grow. And there will be five superpowers instead of two. They are Japan, China, West Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union. India and Brazil may also emerge as two superpowers. And it is possible--although less likely--that the Arabs themselves will emerge as a superpower. With more superpowers, the Arabs' negotiating power will grow even if a comprehensive Arab unity is not achieved."

Mahmud Riyad: "The Arab world's relations with the two superpowers will depend on what happens in the future. If the United States assumes a balanced posture toward the region's issues, and if a comprehensive, just peace is achieved, the Arab nation will go back to its non-alignment posture. But if the United States continues its blatant collusion with Israel, and if that results in the loss of our cause, it will be natural to see the Arabs turning toward the other superpower to find a way out."

George Sa'adah: "The Arab world holds a special place in the strategy of the two conflicting superpowers. Although tensions have been eased somewhat after the Geneva talks, the Arab world would have to become the site for a new international balance during the period of detente that is being talked about today. The Arab world forms a security zone from the Soviet danger to the south and east of Europe. It is an area of conflict over energy, now that international economic relations have reached a difficult critical stage. That is why the United States will try to strengthen its bilateral alliances with the Arab

countries. But to counter that, the Soviet Union will not allow the United States to implement solutions against its will or create the political and military climates it wishes to create. Because of all that I think the Arab world, despite what is being said, has not yet entered into the stage of detente."

Minah al-Sulh: "There is a useful lesson to be learned from the history of Lebanon's struggle for independence and from the efforts that were made to put an end to the French mandate in that country. Both France and Britain had armed forces and a military presence in Lebanon in 1943. The allies had promised Lebanon full independence. Quite unexpectedly, however, a British-French communique was issued stating that the two countries had agreed to evacuate their military forces from Lebanon but that Britain would evacuate its forces first and France would evacuate its forces after a period of time because it had been given the mandate by the League of Nations. Proponents of Lebanon's independence were furious about that statement. They asked that Britain stay in Lebanon until it was time for the French to leave. Their rationale at that time was that the influence of two countries in Lebanon was better than that of one because usually having two influences meant there would be conflict and contradiction. In such a climate the national will could evolve and find its way. However, when there is only one influence, the opportunity to take advantage of contradictions ceases to exist."

[The following section is a boxed section that is part of the article.]

#### Faysal al-Sani': Who Will Bring Back Palestine?

Mr Faysal al-Sani' is a member of Kuwait's National Assembly and secretary of its educational committee. He is also an important Kuwaiti: a man who has his own opinions and who has influence in the country. Mr al-Sani' was previously chairman of Kuwait's Students' Union.

Mr Faysal al-Sani' thinks it is impossible for Arab conditions to stay as they are now. He expects a positive change in the map of the Arab world because current economic, political and social conditions in the region cannot continue for too long. He also expects some kind of unity will be established in the Fertile Crescent, in the Arabian Peninsula and in the Nile Valley. Mr al-Sani' expects common economic interests to be the foundation on whose basis these countries will come closer together.

Al-Sani' also believes that the Arab League will continue to exist until unity is achieved. He believes that despite appearances, the Arab League's role will be strengthened. He believes that regional sentiments which led Arabs down dead-end roads will fade, and he expects the Arab nationalism movement to flourish. Al-Sani' says, "Signs of that are already looming on the horizon."

Despite any settlements that may take place, al-Sani' does not expect that a solution to the Palestinian question will be found any time soon. He believes that Palestine cannot be regained unless the tide of nationalism grows and either a partial or a comprehensive Arab unity is established. Mr al-Sani'

believes that by the onset of the 21st century Egypt will still be shackled by the Camp David Accords. He finds diplomatic relations between Israel and the Arabs unlikely, if not altogether impossible, if there is a settlement.

Al-Sani' thinks that the Arabs' relations with the two superpowers will be more balanced and that they will be based on independence and non-alignment.

Al-Sani' thinks that Lebanon's future is very closely tied with how conditions in Syria will develop. Until then Lebanon will continue to be the staging ground for sectarian conflicts that are fueled by Zionism on the one hand and by some regional parties on the other. Mr al-Sani' goes so far as to say that the division into spheres of influence in Lebanon exists and is condoned by some neighboring regimes.

Mr al-Sani' thinks that relations between Iraq and Iran, or rather Arab-Iranian relations in the east will continue to be unstable.

Al-Sani' expects there will be positive democratic developments in the Arab world because, as he says, "The Arab mind and the Arab psyche have had as much as they can take of military coups."

[8-14 Jan 86 pp 20-21, 24-28]

[Text] Last week we published the first part of AL-MAJALLAH's survey on the Arabs in the year 2000. Last week's installment dealt with the political aspect of this comprehensive survey, which was prepared by AL-MAJALLAH on political, military, economic, cultural and social conditions in the Arab world by the early 21st century. AL-MAJALLAH is publishing this survey in installments. The second installment, which also deals with the political aspect of those conditions follows. This part is also supplemented in subsequent pages by a segment which deals with military conditions. Installments on economic, cultural and social conditions in the Arab world by the year 2000 will be published in sequence in forthcoming issues.

[Question] What will be Lebanon's situation by the beginning of the 21st century?

Opinions about the future of Lebanon are varied although most of those who were questioned thought that any solution would have to feature a prominent role for Syria in Lebanese affairs. One of our experts saw the conflict in Lebanon in terms of a historical process that would result in the birth and creation of a state that would be more secular and more democratic. Another, however, thought that Lebanon never had any national unity. He thought that a solution to the Lebanese problem would depend on changes in the Arab homeland.

Prince 'Abdallah ibn Faysal ibn Turki: "The present situation in Lebanon is the result of the fact that Lebanese citizens are mishandling the situation. It would be possible for everyone to forget about Lebanon if the Lebanese people continue to behave in the way they have been behaving."

Rashid al-Khalidi: "Lebanon will not be annexed by Syria or by Israel, and it will not be partitioned. More than likely Lebanon will regain its national unity one way or another in the next 10 or 15 years."

Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim: "It seems to me that what has been happening in Lebanon over the past 10 years has been part of a historical-social process by means of which something is being born. Despite its longevity, the outcome of that process will be something new, and Lebanon will become a state that will be more secular and less sectarian. Accordingly, Lebanon's further integration with Syria and the Arab region will become more likely. While I do not expect the Lebanon we know to turn into cantons or sectarian mini-states, I also do not expect it to go back to what it was before 1975."

Ibrahim Abu Lughod: "Lebanon has never had national unity. Its future will be determined by changes occurring within the Arab world itself. That group which will be able to get the Israelis out of Arab land will be the one to control the new Lebanese state. That group, which will control the Lebanese National Movement, will also impose its control over Lebanon. The Lebanese government will have close relations with Syria, and that country, that is, Syria, will refuse to go along with American plans for the region."

'Abd-al-Wahid ibn Mas'ud: "If Lebanon's problem is complex, then it is up to the citizens of Lebanon to solve it. I expect all sects to come back to their senses before the end of the century. I expect them to devote themselves to the reconstruction of Lebanon on new foundations or to set a new national course for the country. For example, the country's constitution may be amended; the methods by which statesmen and men who serve in the government are chosen may change; and the problem of the south may be solved by an agreement similar to the peace agreement, even though Lebanon has already rejected such an agreement."

Jihad al-Khazin: "The only thing that Lebanon in the 21st century and the Lebanon we know and love will have in common is the climate. Although I think there is a place for Lebanon in the future, the Lebanon I see is one whose sovereignty has been eroded. The Lebanon I see is one that is weaker, poorer and less democratic."

Wahid Ra'fat: "Lebanon's constitution and its demographic, class and religious makeup are the enigma of the Arab world. I believe that there can be no solution unless that enigma is solved by a greater power imposing its will on all Lebanese sects. Syria is a likely candidate for that role."

Muhammad ibn Hamad Al Khalifah: "I expect the situation in Lebanon to continue to be what it has been. Lebanon now is actually partitioned into sectarian cantons, and any political settlement will be made on the basis of these cantons which will have some kind of loose confederation, but all of Lebanon will be subject to Syrian control."

Nabil Ya'qub al-Hamar: "It is more likely that Syria will play a principal role in developments that take place in Lebanon: the tendency to partition the country will become more extreme. If that happens, Syria will get the lion's share of Lebanon, but the Lebanese sects will be divided into cantons bound



together in a federation which will be guided principally by Syria, at least politically."

Clovis Maqsd: "There are early signs of movement in the situation in Lebanon. Most parties seem inclined to look for a solution that would be acceptable to everyone. Such a solution would restore to Lebanon its unity and its sovereignty over all its territory. Much is being said now about the fact that the war in Lebanon is about to end, even though the process of establishing a broad-based national agreement has just begun. But it is the Israeli factor--namely, Israel's continued occupation of the border strip, its daily violation of Lebanese sovereignty by land, sea and air and its efforts to establish the so-called Lahd army--that is threatening ongoing attempts to achieve the solution which is being hoped for. Although they are important and essential, these attempts to achieve a solution that everyone would accept are subject to setbacks as long as the Israeli enemy continues to have access to the bases it needs to sabotage the situation in Lebanon. Hence, accomplishing the liberation is a matter of fundamental importance. It is a task that must be concurrent with the ongoing operation to lay down the foundations of a broad-based national covenant. The covenant and liberation are two concurrent and complementary tasks."

George Sa'adah: "Ever since this ordeal began, many proposed solutions have been talked about. But despite all surrounding circumstances and despite everything that has been going on, I can imagine only one solution to end the crisis: Lebanon must regain its freedom and all its sovereignty. Lebanon must be able to make all its national decisions and control all its territory. The Lebanese people must be united politically for security considerations under a conciliatory, parliamentary, democratic regime. But I am certain that those publicized plans about partitioning Lebanon or annexing and subordinating parts of it are nothing more than psychological and material warfare launched daily by the media whose hostility to Lebanon and to the Lebanese people is well known. The media want the Lebanese people to lose confidence in themselves, in their country and in the possibility of putting an end to that ordeal."

Minah al-Sulh: "I expect Lebanon to regain its national unity under an effective and a unanimously agreed upon national charter. A Lebanese citizen would find it quite difficult politically and internationally to see himself in any country other than Lebanon, particularly because cantons are impractical. They lack the elements and the ability to be manifested in a permanent national institution. There may be some kind of broad decentralization that respects the sects' feelings of self-identity. But this could not possibly constitute a canton for any one sect. There are two considerations that must be taken into account in any solution. First, sects fear they may vanish and disappear; that fear does in fact exist, whether it is justifiable or not. The second consideration has to do with the interests those sects have in the place where they live, that is, the homeland. The interim formula that is required must stem from these two considerations. It will have to be a national formula that takes the characteristics of those sects into account without reinforcing them permanently."

Riyad Najib al-Rayyis: "History is repeating itself in Lebanon. It has been 11 years since the 30-years' war; there are 19 years left. The 1860 war lasted 30

years. Read history. I see no future for a united Arab Lebanon unless the Lebanese people want to regain their national unity and abandon sectarian ambitions as well as traditional Lebanese political 'oneupmanship.' There will also be no united, independent Lebanon without a strong and stable Syria by its side. No Lebanon, large or small, can exist against Syria's wishes, nor can there be a Lebanon that is not affiliated with Arab nationalism."

#### The Gulf War: Peace after Attrition

[Question] What about the development of relations between Iraq and Iran by the year 2000?

None of those who risked an answer to the question on the future of relations between Iraq and Iran by the end of the 20th century expected peace and harmony between the two countries to be restored. It is likely that the war will have been frozen by then or that it would have come to an end as a result of the mutual attrition between the parties. However, one expert fears the conflict between Iraq and Iran may turn into a conflict between Arabs and Iranians. Such a conflict would have to be stopped in any way possible.

Sa'd-al-Din Ibrahim: "This is a painful subject because the conflict between Iraq and Iran could turn into a protracted historical conflict. Although I may be optimistic about a reconciliation or a settlement with the Jews in Palestine, I fear that the conflict between Iraq and Iran may turn into a conflict between Arabs and Iranians and go on for generations. Such a conflict would be bloody; it would drain the resources of the Arab and Iranian peoples, and it would not serve their interests. Consequently, every effort must be made to prevent such a conflict and effect a prompt reconciliation between the parties whose interests must also be promptly integrated. Arabs and Iranians have much in common. Both oppose racism and both support the rights of nations to determine their own destiny. In addition, they share the same culture."

'Abd-al-Wahid ibn Mas'ud: "I am optimistic about the efforts that are being made by Arab reconciliation committees. Since Iraq has indicated more than once its willingness to end the war, the rulers in Iran have to reconsider their positions. We have historical evidence we need not mention. I think the war between Iraq and Iran will come to an end and friendship and harmony between the two neighboring and fraternal peoples will be restored."

Ibrahim Abu Lughod: "The solution I see for the conflict between Iraq and Iran is one that is based on mutual attrition. Both countries will bleed to death. There is only a slight possibility that either one can regain sufficient strength to embark on another war."

Muhammad ibn Hamad Al Khalifah: "Relations between Iran and Iraq will remain tense for some time. We will not see any improvements in those relations in the near future nor under an anticipated settlement of that dispute, which is now affecting the oil interests and the naval strategic interests of the two superpowers. The two countries' military power in the region may grow, but that growth will not signify the hegemony of either one because the two superpowers, which both parties rely upon for weapons, will not allow either of them to emerge as a dominant power."

Nabil Ya'qub al-Hamar: "The war between Iraq and Iran will not stop, but it will be frozen in the sense that there will be no combat. Instead, the military will be amassed on the borders of both countries, and the state of no war and no peace will continue. A truce that would keep neighboring countries out of this war and shield them from its effects is possible."

Minah al-Sulh: "I expect there will be peace between Iraq and Iran. Peace will be a victory for Iraqi steadfastness and a gain for the Arab nation. Peace would also be in Iran's interests. Let us not forget that Khomeyni used to accuse the Shah of sacrificing progress, growth and the interests of his people for his disputes with Iraq and the Gulf countries."

Riyad Najib al-Rayyis: "The war between Iraq and Iran will not come to an end through mediation efforts or negotiations. Calm may be restored on the fronts where this battle is being fought, but the war will not end. This is the other large gaping wound in the eastern section of the Arab nation. That wound may bleed longer and more profusely than that which was created by Israel."

#### War in the 21st Century Is Inevitable

As part of its major survey AL-MAJALLAH formulated a set of questions about military, defense and strategic matters in an attempt to project expectations about the Arabs' military and strategic conditions by the year 2000. Arabs currently serving in the military, however, chose to observe silence in this matter even though they are the ones most capable of preparing well-considered answers to the questions in our survey. That silence was not confined to the military men of one country whom AL-MAJALLAH had tried to contact. And that in itself is quite an interesting phenomenon, especially since AL-MAJALLAH formulated its questions about military affairs carefully to avoid raising any questions that Arab military men may consider professionally embarrassing. AL-MAJALLAH also avoided asking questions whose answers may reveal military or strategic secrets. Although most military men did not see the text of the survey, their silence may reflect the pessimism they feel about their military ability to face the challenges that are anticipated by the end of this century.

Four former military men took part in our survey and shared their views with us. They are Maj Gen Abu Nawwar, former commander in chief of the Jordanian army; Staff Brig Gen Sami al-Khatib, former commander of the Arab Deterrent Force; Staff Maj Gen Faruq Yasin, former commander of electronic warfare in the Egyptian armed forces; and Gen Muhammad 'Ali Fahmi, former chief of staff of the Egyptian armed forces. One politician, Mr Faysal al-Sani', a member of Kuwait's parliament, also shared his opinions with us. Two academicians also made contributions. They are Dr Muhammad al-Hallaj, chief of the Palestinian Research Center in Washington; and Dr 'Abdallah Sa'if, professor of international relations at King Mohamed V University in Rabat and editor-in-chief of the professional journal, ABHATH.

It was normal for AL-MAJALLAH to consider the development of the advanced weapons industry in the Arab homeland one of the basic ingredients in the development of the Arab world's military and defense capabilities. It would be a basic ingredient in the Arab world's ability to act quite independently of restrictions and pressures imposed on it in many cases by countries that export

weapons to serve their own interests. Will the weapons industry in the Arab homeland be able to meet that nation's defense and security needs by the end of the present century?

Dr 'Abdallah Sa'if, professor of international relations at King Mohamed V University in Rabat and editor-in-chief of the professional journal ABHATH, believes that what happened in the seventies in the Arab region curbed the momentum of development in the weapons industry. Other Third World countries benefited from that, and this will make competition with them difficult over the next 15 years. Dr Sa'if says, "Some Arab countries, Egypt in particular, held a prominent place in the general development of weapons in the Third World. Progress is being made in Arab countries in manufacturing military equipment (individual and crew-served light as well as heavy weapons, rockets, missiles and bombs). Progress is also being made in the production of military vehicles (tanks and armored vehicles), and improvements have occasionally been made on these products. All this testifies to significant Arab capabilities in this area. Progress that has been made in the field of traditional armaments--and that is taking place in the context of bilateral cooperation with major industrial countries--testifies to that as well. Thus, Arab countries do have their own capabilities which are necessary in this regard to meet more than the Arab world's needs for weapons. However, the events of the seventies--the effects of the Camp David Accords on inter-Arab relations and the war between Iraq and Iran--curbed the momentum of that development, and countries like Brazil, Argentina and others benefited from that. It will be difficult to compete with these countries in that area over the next 15 years."

Staff Brig Gen Sami al-Khatib, an outstanding Lebanese military officer and former chief of the Arab Deterrent Forces in Lebanon, is one of a small number of military men who took part in our survey. Al-Khatib does not see in the Arab world a common political vision that could produce an effective development in the weapons industry. He said, "In general, any development in the weapons industry in one particular country would necessarily mean that the leaders of that country have a clear political vision and a carefully outlined strategic plan stemming from that political vision. In other words, such a development would mean that the nation or country where that development took place had specific national objectives, and any development in its weapons industry was part of that plan which was set to accomplish those objectives in accordance with a previously arranged timetable and schedule. Unfortunately, I do not see a common political vision in the Arab world, nor do I even see a clearly defined national vision. The Arab countries are divided into camps and conflicting, unstable political regimes."

Maj Gen Faruq Yasin, former chief of electronic warfare in the Egyptian armed forces, says that any effective development in the weapons industry in the Arab world would have to be linked with a strong economic base, an advanced civilian industrial sector, and technological know-how in the area of manufacturing weapons. Therefore, we must have cooperation among the Arab countries as well as integration of opinions held in those countries so we can succeed in this area. Maj Gen Yasin says, "Development of the Arab weapons industry is essential to bring about a strategic balance between the Arabs and Israel and to cut the enormous amounts of money that are now being spent on weapons. If the Arabs want to achieve that and if they want to affirm their independence and win the

respect of the world, they will have to cooperate fully with each other and integrate their opinions. The Arabs will have to look at this matter from the perspective of the Arab homeland's supreme interests. They will have to start talking with each other to revive the Arab Industrialization Authority. They will have to cooperate with each other to come up with a carefully conceived plan that will put to good use the energies of the companies of the Egyptian Authority for Military Production and the institutions of military production in Iraq, in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, in the Gulf countries and elsewhere. We would have to begin where the others left off. I don't see anything wrong with manufacturing weapons under license, hiring technical experts from foreign countries and seeking the assistance of foreign researchers from all countries. We still remember the assistance that German experts in the weapons industry provided after World War II. They helped develop the weapons industry in both the East and the West. In this context it would be possible for the Arabs to have a military industrial base that can be developed, but this base could not be the exclusive property of any one Arab country. In the West even the largest countries and the ones with the oldest history in manufacturing weapons are now cooperating with each other to manufacture weapons. It would be under such conditions that a military airplane, which can compete with American and European airplanes, can be produced. People abroad do not make miracles; they rather open closed doors with their minds."

#### Cooperation and Integration

Mr Faysal al-Sani', member of Kuwait's parliament expects the development of the Arab weapons industry to be part of the development of Arab industry in general. However, he does not believe that an Arab weapons industry can be effective unless it is based on Arab cooperation and integration. Mr al-Sani' does not expect an independent and advanced military airplane industry to develop by the beginning of the 21st century. He does believe, however, that capabilities for such development would be available at a later date on the basis of an integrated Arab plan.

Dr 'Abdallah Sa'if agrees with the opinion expressed by Mr al-Sani' on the future of the military airplane industry in the Arab homeland. Dr Sa'if says, "Concrete progress has in fact been made, and airplanes used for training have been manufactured in Egypt. The two airplanes, Cairo 2000 and Cairo 3000, were produced in the sixties. Except for Iraqi plans, however, whose aim was to manufacture modern military airplanes like the Mirage and the Alpha Jet under license from France, we cannot really speak about a military airplane industry. What we have is rather an industry that maintains airplanes rather than one that manufactures them. Nevertheless, the airplane industry has now met a set of conditions that will enable us to develop it further."

Maj Gen 'Ali Abu Nawwar, former general commander of the Jordanian army, believes that the weapons industry in the Arab world will not develop in the foreseeable future in a manner that would put it on a par with the weapons industry in Israel. This is because Arab technology and Arab funds are not integrated. Without such cooperation producing even a minimum amount of advanced weapons in the Arab world cannot be achieved, not to mention modern military airplanes."



The problem of achieving a military balance with Israel--if not military superiority--continues to worry Arab politicians and military men, especially in those countries that are adjacent to Israel or that are close to its borders. This problem is cause for concern whether an Arab weapons industry can be developed or whether Arabs will continue to purchase their weapons from abroad. And whether that military balance or superiority is achieved by manufacturing those weapons or by amassing more imported weapons, several questions in that regard emerge. If a peaceful and just settlement with Israel is not reached, will the Arabs, or some of them, fight a new war to remove this alien presence from the Arab world? Will Egypt take part in such a war? Or will the military balance or superiority that is being sought be used merely as a tool to apply pressure on Israel to accept a peaceful settlement?

Dr Muhammad al-Hallaj, chief of the Center for Palestinian Studies in Washington believes that war is inescapable. He believes that other wars against Israel are possible, but he does not rule out the possibility that Israel will continue to be militarily superior to all the Arabs because of the support it receives from the United States. But Dr al-Hallaj believes that equipment and materiel are not all the ingredients that determine the outcome of a war. Dr al-Hallaj says, "Another war or even wars with Israel are inevitable because the conflict has not been resolved in favor of either party. Arabs have failed to persuade Israel to curb its ambitions, and Israel has failed to persuade the Arabs that its hegemony in the region cannot be challenged." Dr al-Hallaj believes that Arab involvement in such a war would depend on the timing. He thinks that because of the prevailing frustration, fragmentation and disputes among Arabs and because of anxiety over the continuation of the war in the Gulf, the Arabs are more likely to participate in a later extensive war against Israel than they would be in a war that may occur soon. Dr al-Hallaj says, "If this war were to break out in 10 years, for example, more Arabs would have to participate in it, provided the war in the Gulf would have come to an end and relations between Egypt and Israel become more tense. If Arab opposition were able to stand on its own two feet and if the Arabs give up on American efforts, more Arabs would take part in such a war."

Although Dr al-Hallaj thinks that Israel is likely to maintain its superiority in arms and ammunition with the support of the United States, he does not think that that necessarily means it will be militarily superior. According to him, "War requires more than just equipment and ammunition. It covers many other factors such as national solidarity, a quantitative factor, strategic depth, the will of the leaders and other factors. The United States cannot provide Israel with these factors." Dr al-Hallaj thinks that military intervention by the United States to save Israel from the Arabs will depend to a large extent on Arab superiority in the war and on other circumstances. "In other words, such intervention is not inevitable. If Israel were in a 'tight spot' the United States would have to intervene to support it. But if Arab superiority were decisive, and if the United States had to become involved militarily to protect Israel and save it from certain defeat, such intervention would be less likely because of opposition to it in the United States and because that could start a global war." Dr al-Hallaj believes that what is more dangerous than U.S. intervention if the Arabs' military superiority is decisive is Israel's nuclear alternative. Israel would not hesitate to use its nuclear weapons in such a

situation. The chief of the Center for Palestinian Studies in Washington believes that Arabs have not given this possibility the amount of thought and planning it deserves.

#### War Is Inevitable

Maj Gen 'Ali Abu Nawwar agrees with Dr al-Hallaq that another Arab-Israeli war is inevitable, particularly if the parties in question fail to achieve a just solution to the Palestinian question. Maj Gen Abu Nawwar says, "If Arab parties cannot achieve a settlement with Israel and if they refuse to fight Israel, they will not last. Therefore, war is inevitable because of the impossibility of achieving a just solution [any other way]. However, the question that ought to be asked here is this: what kind of war will the war between the Arabs and Israel be? Will it be like the 1973 Ramadan War? That war merely anesthetized the Arab nation and achieved very limited objectives that are only remotely related to the crux of the question, which is the liberation of Palestine. That war was fought for regional gains, and it resulted in the loss of the principal cause."

Maj Gen Abu Nawwar does not believe that the principal Arab forces would take part in a serious war against Israel "unless they do so through organizations at the level of a United Arab States that would be established in the east. Regional animosities and Arab subordination to foreigners would have to be eliminated from such organizations. If not, any war against Israel would be a limited war in which the principal Arab forces would not participate. And the results of such a war would be worse than those of the Ramadan War. Arabs have to stop saying that they realized victory in that war because the outcome of wars is not measured by their military outcomes only, but primarily by the political results they produce."

Maj Gen Abu Nawwar does not think that Egypt would get involved in any Arab war against Israel unless the Egyptian course is altered and the country's "original revolutionary course" restored. The wedge that al-Sadat drove between Egypt and its Arab character will have to be removed. No matter what is happening now, this Arab character will remain the sole pillar for the Arab Egyptian standard.

The retired Jordanian major general rejects the commonly held theory about Israel's military superiority over all the Arabs regardless of the support it receives from the United States, unless the United States gets involved in the war against the Arabs as a principal party. He says, "This theory about Israel's military superiority stems from the fact that the Arabs have not fought a single serious war against Israel. The Arabs have not had a sincere desire to become involved in such a war. The Arabs' sincere desire for such a war and its consequences has not been greater than Arab governments' devotion and sincerity to disparate regional objectives. I believe that Arabs in the Arab East, including the Egyptians, can defeat Israel."

Staff Brig Gen Sami al-Khatib thinks we do not have to talk about a new outbreak of hostilities between the Arabs and Israel since hostilities between them have not ceased. He does not think there will be a just solution to the Palestinian question in the foreseeable future because the armed Palestinian struggle "has not been very successful in galvanizing the Arab forces around it and imposing a

solution on Israel and on the international community. It also did not succeed militarily in hurting Israel and paralyzing it, even though it interfered with the governments of host countries, as was the case in Lebanon." Al-Khatib thinks that the Arabs are now in a state of temporary truce with Israel because the Arab-Israeli conflict has gone beyond the boundaries of the Palestinian question and is now affecting the entire Arab nation. The Arab-Israeli conflict is now affecting the Arab nation's heritage, culture and values. Al-Khatib believes that in time victory for Arab rights will be achieved.

Al-Khatib believes that "war before the end of this century is inevitable, but it will be a war on a limited scale regarding the Arab forces that will be involved in it. Material, military and geographical conditions will not allow many countries to become involved in that war even though they may put their material or political resources in the battle. The outcome of such a war, however, will not be limited because advanced weapons, particularly air weapons and surface to surface missiles, will not keep it limited to the traditional fields of combat. And it is that which may lead many regional, international and economic parties to become involved in that war, which may spread beyond the borders of the entire Middle East region."

Staff Brig Gen al-Khatib believes that in its present condition Egypt would not be able to take part in such a war. The present political regime in Egypt adheres to the provisions of the Camp David Accords. He says, "No regime will be able to continue to keep Egypt separate from the Arab nation of which it is a part. Egypt is part of the Arab nation, and that means that Egypt shares the Arab nation's history, legacy, culture, hopes and aspirations. Therefore the outbreak of such a war would provide the Egyptian people with an opportunity to rise and break away from the chains that were placed around them by Camp David. Egyptians will regain the freedom to make their own political and military decisions."

But Gen Muhammad 'Ali Fahmi, the former chief of staff of the Egyptian armed forces does not agree with his Jordanian and Lebanese colleagues that an Arab-Israeli war by the year 2000 is inevitable. He says, "I do not believe that such a war will break out in the region during the coming period of time because such a war is inconsistent with the superpowers' plans in the world. Evidence for this may be found in what happened in the October 1973 war when an armed confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union was about to happen. Kissinger said, "We will not allow U.S. weapons to be humiliated, nor will we allow Israel to be defeated by the Arabs." Kissinger added, "The breach which the Israelis were able to create west of the canal during the October War--when the Israeli army surrounded Egypt's third army--was American made."

Gen Muhammad 'Ali Fahmi does not think that Arab military superiority over Israel requires a miracle that would be difficult to achieve. He does think, however, that achieving that superiority requires that we follow a difficult road. "We Arabs," said the general, "do not learn the lesson until after we've paid dearly for it." The first step that has to be taken on that road is for the Arabs to speak with one voice. They would then be able to make uniform Arab decisions. "It is only then," as Gen Fahmi says, "that we would have begun the positive action that would bring about superiority and would help us impose the solution that every Arab and every honest person dreams about."

Maj Gen Faruq Yasin believes that if either a military balance or Arab superiority is achieved, a comprehensive solution to the question of Palestine would be achieved. "Palestine would once again become as God had created it a country for all religions." But Maj Gen Yasin does not think that Arab military superiority is likely to be achieved in the coming period of time because the vicious Zionist policy is being supported by the superpowers. In addition, the American Zionist lobby is working to maintain Israel's superiority over the Arabs in weapons and technology. Israel has even been able to enter the age of nuclear weapons. However, Maj Gen Yasin adds, "Arab military superiority, however, is not impossible if the Arabs unify their decisions, if they have the same wishes and if they pursue a single, clear course of action to achieve a clear objective. 'Allah does not change a people's lot unless they change what is in their hearts'" [al-Ra'd: 11].

#### No Settlement

In our search for a politician's opinion we asked Mr Faysal al-Sani' what his expectations for the future were. He said, "I believe there will be no settlement of the Palestinian question. That is why I believe that war or wars between the Arabs and Israelis will break out until Israel is defeated. For the Arabs this is a question of survival." Al-Sani' believes that if war breaks out between one Arab country and Israel, the major Arab powers will become involved. However, if it is "a war of provocation and maneuvers," it will not go beyond that. Al-Sani' also believes that Egypt will become involved in a real war of liberation alongside the other Arab countries. He thinks that Israel is militarily superior to Arab regimes that are divided and unpopular but that it is not superior to all the Arab countries, as it's being said. He is convinced that Israel will continue to be superior militarily to Arab regimes in their current condition.

We wanted to find out what an academician thought about this, so we asked Dr 'Abdallah Sa'if who said, "One does not have to be a proficient military expert to predict that an Arab-Israeli war will happen in the future. All tendencies and schools of thought encompassed in the theory of international relations concur that war would be inevitable in traditional cases that are not as vehement as the Palestinian question is--separation, the partial incorporation of certain territory, border problems and economic problems. This is the law of international relations. War under such conditions would be inevitable. Therefore, if we were to look at current developments in the Palestinian question, then war in the future can be expected. There will be endless wars until that problem is solved once and for all."

Dr Sa'if is one of those people who believes that an Arab people's war could lead to victory despite Israel's military superiority and despite U.S. support for Israel's existence. But he says, "Even if such an Arab victory were to be achieved, a solution to the Palestinian problem cannot be the product of military premises only. In all of history there has never been a purely military solution to what is essentially a political problem. I do not need to remind people of Clausewitz' well-known statement that war is nothing but a continuation of policy by other means."

Despite the almost total unanimity expressed by the experts about the inevitability of another Arab-Israeli war, some Arab thinkers believe that the strategic purpose sought by some Arab regimes in their efforts to achieve a military balance or military superiority over Israel is the leverage such balance or superiority would give them. Arab regimes want to use that leverage to apply pressure on Israel to achieve a peaceful settlement that would restore to the Palestinians as much of their rights as possible. As to whether Arab military superiority over Israel would lead to a military solution to the Palestinian question or would be used as a tool for applying pressure on Israel and negotiating with it, Dr al-Hallaj believes that the military effort which will be made in the region in the coming years will be merely a tool for applying political pressure. He says, "There is no doubt that historically speaking, the military approach has been one of the methods used to deal with political problems. Speaking about the unsuitability of a military solution in the Middle East is meaningless, but that, of course, does not mean that conditions will be opportune for a military solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict during the years that may well stretch into the beginning of the next century. A military solution requires a political, economic, cultural and military effort that the Arab nation has not yet begun."

Maj Gen Abu Nawwar thinks "If Arabs somehow become militarily superior, Israel would have to concede that. It would then be in the same position we are in today. And that is the position of begging for mercy and peace."

Staff Brig Gen Sami al-Khatib does not doubt that Arab military superiority would bring about a peaceful solution to the Palestinian question; it would even solve the entire Arab-Israeli conflict. "In this case," he says, "matters in the region will go back to normal. If the Israelis agree to live in the region among the nations that live there and if they are willing to live as the Jews lived before in all the countries of the world, especially in the Arab East, then their problem will have been solved. But if they continue to maintain an arrogant, racist state that controls the destinies of the nations of the region, attacks them, makes them homeless and denies them the freedom to determine their destiny--or in other words--if they continue to act as though they were the policeman of the Middle East, [the problem will continue]. But that would not last if the Arabs were militarily superior."

Since the experts are almost totally unanimous that future war or wars between the Arabs and Israelis would break out, and since they agree that to avoid other defeats Arabs must achieve military balance with the Israelis, if not military superiority to them, we wondered if Arab countries would make preparations in light of the harsh lessons they learned in the past. Will they form a united Arab command that would be more than just a committee of Arab defense ministers and leaders of Arab armies functioning under the auspices of the Arab League? We went back to the opinion of the academician, Dr Sa'if who said, "I do not think it would be possible to expect more than a relative unification of commands. In other words, a limited kind of advanced coordination would be achieved, but specific conditions would be attached. This is the change that current Arab societies and current Arab regimes would allow; armies are the expressions of those societies. For various reasons, not all of which are necessarily related to security, military unity, which is based on mergers and the standardization of systems, weapons and training, appears to be totally irrelevant in the years between now and the end of the century."



Mr Faysal al-Sani' thinks that what is important in the process of bringing Arab military powers together is not the formation of a joint military command but rather the establishment of one political authority in more than one Arab country. In this case a joint military command would become, as he said, "a foregone conclusion."

#### A Joint Command

Military personnel have different opinions about the possibility of establishing an effective joint Arab command. Maj Gen Faruq Yasin thinks that the coming years will require a return to the establishment of a united Arab command which would be charged with selecting appropriate alternatives to the weapons used by the Arab armies they command. These choices would be made in light of the strategy with which this command will be charged. "The establishment of such a command," says Maj Gen Yasin, "will constitute a positive step and will be a tremendous strategic gain."

Gen Muhammad 'Ali Fahmi thinks that unity and uniform Arab decisions among the Arabs will have to form the basis for establishing a successful joint Arab command. He agrees with his colleague, Maj Gen Yasin about the need to define a plan. He thinks duties and goals must also be defined so that the command that is established and the weapons that are set up can perform what is expected of them, instead of being set up just for show and for local consumption. But Maj Gen Abu Nawwar says, "A unified Arab command whose seriousness is consistent with the seriousness of the goal cannot be formed unless a United Arab States is established in the Arab East."

Given present conditions in the Arab world, Staff Brig Gen Sami al-Khatib does not expect a unified Arab command to be formed because the form or shape of any military command in the world is an indication or a military expression of a specific political reality. He says, "The current situation in the Arab world is one of division, fragmentation and conflict. It is one in which international and ideological political tendencies that are alien to its reality and its origins are playing a part. That is why the Arabs will not come to an agreement under present conditions. They will not agree on any kind of unified military command." For the sake of argument, however, al-Khatib assumes that there could be radical change in the current situation in the Arab world. Arab countries would share the same political vision of the present and the future, and they would follow the same methods of government. Based on such an assumption al-Khatib concludes that a uniform strategy and uniform goals for those countries would become inevitable. Their view of the means and methods that would be necessary to achieve that strategy would also become uniform. Foremost among those means and methods would be the formation of a unified Arab military command. It is then, al-Khatib believes, that systems, methods and combat procedures could be standardized. Eventually all military and organizational practices in the Arab armed forces would also be standardized. Although they will continue to maintain their regional characteristics, Arab armies will become numerous regiments in one army that has one cause. If, however, conditions continue to be as they are now, the most that can happen in the area of a unified military command would be the establishment of a joint command under the Arab League. Officers from all Arab armies would participate in that command whose actual function would be to ensure military liaison between those

armies and standardize some terms and some methods of training. They would ensure a minimum amount of coordination in Arab military folklore, but they will not gain any effectiveness in the field. As al-Khatib says, "That effectiveness will increase only inasmuch as political unity among top political leaders grows."

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[Text] In the course of conducting its comprehensive survey on the Arabs in the year 2000 AL-MAJALLAH asked 17 intellectuals, politicians and economists 15 questions. Each person questioned expressed his vision of the future based on current facts. The answers to these questions illustrated existing concerns as well as the dreams and hopes that still live in people's hearts. Despite differences in points of view, everyone agreed that change was essential. There were also some differences in people's perceptions of reality; opinions about the weaknesses or strengths in that reality and how they should be dealt with differed.

Notwithstanding the particulars of the experts' answers, the common points they made came through more clearly than the differences of opinion they expressed. The experts agreed unanimously first of all on utilizing the resources we now have and making good use of them. They agreed we should start with people and natural resources and include all the resources that are evident and those that are still hidden. Funds are available; resources are tremendous; the expertise is there even though it is being squandered or wasted; and we certainly have enough manpower. What is required is an effort that would bring all this together and coordinate it in a uniform manner in the context of a clear strategy that meets the Arab homeland's regional and national needs and enables us to meet the challenges of the hour and the requirements of the future.

To put it briefly, the answers our intellectuals gave and the expectations they expressed placed officials in this large homeland face to face with crucial challenges and gave them two alternatives: conditions could remain unchanged, and that would mean further disintegration and subordination, or adequate and obvious resources could be utilized. That would mean challenges would be faced and an effort would be made to keep up with what is going on. It would mean bringing progress to the country and inducing it to carry out its cultural and leadership role.

1. [Question] What do you think is the foundation of the Arab economy in general? Is it oil, agriculture or industry? Is there anything else you think could be the foundation of the Arab economy?

Prince 'Abdallah ibn Faysal ibn Turki, secretary general of the Royal Authority for al-Jubayl and Yanbu' in Saudi Arabia: "An Arab who has received appropriate training and education and who has been the object of attention devoted to his culture and its development is the principal foundation of the Arab economy. Most certainly the principal requirement for an Arab's progress and contribution is his sense of security, stability and freedom. If the Arabs have that, they will be able to put their environment to good use and they will be able to make

the best use of their resources. But as far as oil is concerned, oil can be a foundation for the economy depending on how we treat it, how we exploit it and how we use it. No one believes any more the expectations and predictions that are issued by Arab oil technocrats who forecast a second golden age for oil. No one believes those predictions since we, as exporters, depend on the expertise of those who import our oil and since we are incapable of avoiding our mistakes. We will not have another oil age, and we will fail to take advantage of this foundation of the economy and of any change that might come over it. However, if the Arabs make good use of any prosperity that comes to them from oil or from other foundations for the economy, they will have acquired influence on the world scene, and that will give them the power that could help them solve their problems and resolve their issues in an honorable manner. It will enable them to build a solid and a balanced foundation for their economies, and that could maintain for their peoples social, economic, and political positions that are just."

Dr 'Abdallah al-Ma'jal, secretary general of the Gulf Organization for Industrial Consultations, in al-Dawhah, Qatar: "Oil will continue to play a very important role as one of the foundations of the economy, but that role will shrink and yield its position to other sectors, particularly the industrial sector."

Dr Edmond Na'im, governor of the Bank of Lebanon: "Oil will continue to be the most important foundation for the economy. In time it will be followed by industry. When the Palestinian question is solved, tourism will emerge as a foundation for the economy."

Dr Mahsun Bahjat Jalal, chairman of the board of the National Industrialization Company, and a Saudi economist: "It is a fact that the Arab world existed before oil was discovered and before industry was founded. Agriculture, of course, is the oldest activity known to man, and the civilization that developed in the Arab world between the Tigris and the Euphrates is the oldest civilization in human history. But the West got into the habit of associating oil with the Arab world and Saudi Arabia in particular. This is a distortion of the facts. The oil age is only a transitory period in the history of mankind: oil was not known a few years ago, and it will disappear after some years. I do not believe that oil will be the foundation of the Arab economy in the future. We may, nevertheless, derive benefits from it and build a variety of production sectors in agriculture, industry and mining. I believe that the Arab economy will rely on its own human resources because the goal all over the Arab world is to reduce reliance on oil."

Dr 'Umar Masikah, economic affairs advisor to Lebanon's prime minister: "The economic situation worldwide and in the Arab world is going through a difficult period. Matters could get worse if those who are in charge do not reconsider economic plans and measures soon enough to overcome the crisis and limit its effects. The Arab world, more than any other part of the world, is being asked to adopt radical solutions quickly so as to ward off the dangers that will be threatening its economy as this century draws to a close. Chief among these solutions are [the following]:

--"The Arab economic climate is to be re-organized and it is to become safer and more stable.

--"Quick and effective adjustments are to be made to the necessities of economic growth.

--"The activities of the economic sector within each country are to be integrated nationally, and such activities within Arab economic communities are also to be integrated on a pan-Arab basis.

"In this context an integrated economic policy ought to be adopted to develop the foundations on which the present Arab economy stands. This is to be done with an eye on new developments and on changes that are expected by the beginning of the 21st century. Accordingly, an effort must be made to turn Arab society from a society that consumes and imports goods to one that produces goods and exports its products. That, in particular, requires emphasis on developing and changing industrial and agricultural sectors; it requires investing as much Arab capital as possible in these sectors of production instead of letting funds sit idly in banks or investing them in non-productive projects. I believe that some Arabs have all the airports, road systems, housing complexes, hotels, banks, airline companies and similar ventures that they need. Such Arabs need to adopt a new development policy, particularly in the area of manufacturing and agriculture. They need to derive benefits from natural resources in the sea and on land. They need to develop the necessary organizational, institutional and manpower cadres for production, and they also need to develop scientific plans for financing, employment and investment."

Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid 'Awad, economist and university professor in Morocco: "Let's talk first about current prevailing trends in development.

"First, there are heavy industries which rely on processing raw materials and are intended principally for export. In the oil countries this pertains principally to oil and its derivatives; in other countries like Morocco and Tunisia, it pertains to phosphate and its derivatives.

"Second, there is an industrial mode which provides substitutes for imports. This limits the effect of a non-existent assimilation policy and the difficulty of exporting products because advanced countries protect their markets.

"Third, activities in agriculture and in agricultural industries, such as grains, meat, sugar, oils, etc., are weak.

"This model must be modified so that the Arab world can have more independence regarding the international division of labor and making an effective contribution to cultural progress. Heavy industry that is intended for export must be strengthened by first-phase production units. [Import] replacement industries must be expanded to include intermediate materials and goods used in processing operations. The farming mode and the institutions of farming must be modified so that farming can meet the needs of Arab society by the year 2000. At the present time the Arab world imports 35 percent of the food it consumes. Then, adjustments must be made in education, and standards must be raised in technical specialized studies and in theoretical and applied scientific research."

Dr 'Ali ibn Talal al-Jihni, an economist and petroleum expert in Riyadh: "The constant foundation for the economy of any nation in this world is not industry, agriculture, or raw materials. It is man, not any other economic activity, that is the foundation of the economy. At the present time an Arab's production efficiency is very low when compared with the production efficiency of a man in countries that have realized great material progress. This does not mean that the Arab is inherently less talented than other people whose production efficiency is high. In fact, Ibn Khaldun--may God have mercy on his soul--who died in 1406 A.D., was convinced that nothing could be done about the backwardness of the people who inhabited northern Europe--and they were extremely backward when Ibn Khaldun wrote about them--because the severe cold weather in those countries dulled their mental faculties. Today, the production efficiency of the descendants of those "people with a ruddy complexion," as Ibn Khaldun called them, has reached the highest levels. Some people theorize that the nations of northern Europe have inherent capabilities that make them mentally superior to other human races. Therefore, the kind of economic activity that Arabs engage in to earn their living should not be a subject of great interest to us. But what we must be interested in is raising the Arab's production efficiency. A person's production efficiency can be raised by using what economists call 'human capital.' This is a reference to the knowledge and skill that a person acquires. At all times and in all places man has been the goal of economic activities as well as the means by which they are carried out. If his production efficiency rises, man can, without guidance, choose those economic activities that would bring about an increase in the national product."

Dr 'Atif Qubrusi, professor of economics at McMaster University in Toronto, Canada and author of several books on industries related to oil and to development in the countries of the Arabian Gulf: "Oil will continue to be the most important foundation of the economy even though its relative importance will diminish as time passes. I believe that oil industries will play a prominent role in the Arab economy. I expect three kinds of industries to emerge: the petrochemical industry in which we are expected to excel; consumer goods; and capital goods. There is also an awareness that a limiting gap exists in the industrial structure with regard to engineering goods. I believe that planners will devote some attention to this gap. Arabs have no choice but to produce their own capital goods."

Dr 'Abbas al-Nasrawi, professor of economics at the University of Vermont in the United States: "The Arab economy will continue to be based on oil and industry. Agriculture has been and will continue to be neglected."

Dr Ahmad al-Kabsi, dean of the College of Commerce and Economics at San'a' University, specializes in politics and economics:

"A. Regarding oil: Since the oil business is a business that extracts a depletable resource, it is expected that by the beginning of the 21st century the oil reserves of many Arab countries will have been depleted, given the current rates of pumping oil out of the land. These countries will no longer have their principal source of national revenue. Consequently, they must try now to invest their oil returns in other activities that are not depletable; they must try to invest in alternatives to the oil business, such as agriculture or fishing. Then



when the sun sets on the oil age in those countries that have a single-based economy, their people will have something to live on.

"B. Regarding agriculture: Demand for food products in principal cities that are growing rapidly in all countries of the Arab world is expected to rise. This means that the agricultural sector would have to provide increasing amounts of marketable agricultural surplus. If this does not happen, prices for agricultural products will be inflated, and matters could get worse if supply does not keep pace with demand because people in rural areas would be holding back from the market a larger portion of what they produce. To confront the possibility of an increase in prices of principal food stuffs, the countries of the Arab world may have to import from abroad large and growing quantities of food to meet the growing demand for these consumer goods.

"C. Regarding industry: The mining industry in oil countries with a large strategic reserve, like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, is expected to make noticeable progress. This would help average per capita income rise to a level equal to that of per capita income in the wealthiest countries."

Faysal 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Sani', member of Kuwait's parliament: "By the beginning of the next century, the principal foundations for the Arab economy will have two modes. These are: oil, agriculture and industry, collectively, on the one hand; and the Arab citizen on the other.

"It seems to me that satisfactory and proper progress is now being made in human development in the Arab world because of what scores of universities, institutes and training centers are doing. I believe that this second foundation of the economy is a more effective one."

Dr 'Abdallah al-Sa'idi, professor of economics and public finance at the College of Law, 'Ayn Shams University: "Agriculture will be the first foundation for the economy; it will be followed by industry and then by oil. If we were to take Egypt as an example, we would find that that country's only solution and only choice is to go back to agriculture, even with the minimum level of investments in agriculture that were made in the sixties. Compared with the sixties, however, the ratio of investments in agriculture to total national investments is not more than 8 percent. This explains why so much food is imported from abroad. Egypt's example applies to many Arab countries that must make more investments in agriculture."

Dr Ahmad al-Safti, professor of political economics at the College of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University: "Agriculture and industry will be the foundation of the Arab economy."

Mr Muhammad Ma'mun, commercial advisor in the office of Egypt's minister of the economy: "Agriculture will be first, and then industry and oil. This is due to the fact that the importance of oil in the future will decline. This means that oil returns must be used to develop agriculture and industry. In industry we should emphasize goods that are characteristic to the Arab region and relatively advantageous to produce so we can sell them abroad."

Dr Rushdi Barakat is a man with a doctorate in international marketing. "Oil has been and is now the principal foundation for the Arab economy. Later, however,

we will have to rely on other foundations such as agriculture, industry and tourism. We have to develop other resources so we can avoid the danger of relying on one foundation. And we will have to choose which is better for agriculture: utilizing land that is ready for farming in Sudan or reclaiming the desert in Saudi Arabia and Egypt."

Mr Ya'qub Yusuf, deputy director of the National Bank of Bahrain, chose to incorporate the questions and give us one answer. "We should first divide the Arab world into four geographical communities: the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf states; the Syrian area, which includes Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine; the Nile Valley area, and that includes Egypt, Sudan, Djibouti and Somalia; and the Arab Maghreb, which includes the North African countries and Mauritania. If we were to look at each group separately, we would find the following:

"First, the countries of the Arabian Peninsula and the Arabian Gulf are distinguished by the fact that they have a small population and few natural resources. At the same time these countries have a huge financial fortune because of the oil they have. After the completion and implementation of principal environmental projects and some basic industrial projects in the region that are related to oil, such as petrochemicals, refining and fertilizers, this group of countries will then turn to light industry, particularly the light industry that can meet the needs of the local market. If we assume that the oil market in the 21st century will be different from the current oil market, then I think that these countries will continue to realize a monetary surplus, and that will require the existence of an integrated organization that can manage and invest that surplus within this group of countries or in Arab or foreign countries.

"I expect drastic changes in man's view of matters as a result of huge investments in education that will have yielded their results. These changes will come about as a result of the experiences man in this region will have had in the seventies and eighties of this century. With the onset of the next century man will become more serious and more productive.

"I expect the second Arab community, the one in the Syrian area, to have found solutions to some of its political problems by the beginning of the next century--problems like the Iraq-Iran war, the Lebanese problem, the Palestinian question and inter-Arab disputes. If these problems are solved, I expect these countries to have some kind of economic coordination and cooperation that could turn them into one economic bloc. It is quite possible for this group of countries to change from societies that are dependent on one or two agricultural commodities and become economically diverse societies where industry would play a more prominent role. It is known that this group of countries suffers now from having little capital; however, they fare better than the first group of countries with regard to available human and natural resources, especially in agriculture. If some kind of stability were to be achieved in this area, the first group of countries will become more interested in investing in the second group of countries, and that increased interest will manifest itself equally among individuals and governments.

"The third group of countries is made up of countries that are very densely populated. Except for agriculture, they have few natural resources. At the

present time farming in those countries does not meet the needs of the population because financial resources are scarce. I believe that this region will begin to take more seriously the idea of becoming the Arab countries' bread basket, and I expect financial problems for this region to end. If this happens, Arab investors will have a different view of this region. I also believe that this region will make significant progress in the food industry and in other industries where a large market is available. This situation is bound to create some kind of economic coordination and cooperation, and it will help establish the Arab common market.

"I believe there are encouraging signs in the last group of countries, the countries of the Arab Maghreb, that some kind of integration between them will be achieved. I expect these countries to have gone a long way in their industrialization effort, and I expect them to have made progress in the food industry that will enable them to meet their own needs as well as the needs of the Arab market."

2. [Question] In addition to developing the industry that is based on oil products, do you expect there will be an industrial revolution in the Arab world?

Dr 'Abdallah al-Ma'jal: "The industries of the second generation, which will begin production, will concentrate on semi-finished and finished goods that are aimed principally at the Arab market. This will be done to take advantage of opportunities for cooperation. Industry will gradually move away from its reliance on the oil sector, and policies will be formulated to strengthen industry's ability to regenerate itself and confront the expected problem of real unemployment, or the presence of qualified people who can make contributions when there are no employment opportunities available to them. The creation of such opportunities will be one of industry's most important duties. It is from that perspective that it may be said that the nature of Arab industry will undergo a change."

Dr Mahsun Bahjat Jalal: "As I said before, oil is transitory. It may be depleted, and it may run out economically either because it will no longer be important or because there will be other alternatives to it. The presence of oil then is transitory, and we should not expect it to last forever. We must reduce our reliance on oil and on oil industries because this industry will not be long-lived. The oil industry was established so that we could increase our oil returns by exporting more than crude oil. Compared to the technological change we are seeing in the world, however, I do not believe that the industrial process that will be required by these industries is of great importance. In fact, I believe that in the course of 10 years, for example, revenues from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's exports from other industries will be greater than its revenues from petrochemicals."

Dr Edmond Na'im: "I do not expect there will be an industrial revolution in the Arab world in the foreseeable future."

Dr Ahmad al-Kabsi: "Although the Arab conversion industry still relies on technology and machinery imported from industrially advanced countries--and that has

caused it to incur heavy costs that curbed its progress and made it economically subordinate--it is expected to make an effort to become self-reliant by the beginning of the 21st century. It is worth noting, however, that achieving that goal is tied to the growth of that industry's scientific and technological base whose standard must equal that of advanced countries."

Dr 'Abbas al-Nasrawi: "Countries that have oil will continue to rely on petrochemical industries, but countries that do not have oil will continue to rely on consumer goods. Countries in both groups will continue to import alternative industrial projects."

Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid 'Awwad: "There are two sides to an industrial revolution: one material and one human. As far as the material side is concerned, industry is possible and easily achievable when finances and a market are available, and both are. Thus, the possibility for appropriate growth exists. The population which in 1967 numbered 142 million is expected to reach a minimum of 263 million by the year 2000. That is a large market. Thus, an attempt to merge Arab economies together would be enough to realize high rates of growth. The possibility for such a merger is suggested by the following figures: the Arab world imports 43 percent of the intermediate materials that are used in production; it imports 98 percent of the processing materials; and it imports 46 percent of the products consumed by family units. These facts are sufficient to persuade Arabs that merging their economies would make them win several stages in the quest for development. As far as the human side of the industrial revolution is concerned, basic industries require an advanced technology. Understanding and mastering that technology does not come about automatically. That is why programs must be formulated for understanding that technology and developing it, and a new role model for the Arab must be developed. That Arab will be committed to his heritage, and he will have a creative mind that is open to ideas. An industrial revolution is possible; in fact it has to be achieved. We must, however, regulate its cultural background so that Arab society can make progress in a balanced manner."

Dr 'Atif Qubrusi: "I am quite convinced that we cannot industrialize in earnest unless we have economic unity. Industry is favorable to size and requires large resources. No Arab country is large enough with resources that are large enough to enable it to develop its own industry apart from other Arab countries. The logic of growth and development in the Arab world requires more economic cooperation and incorporation."

Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im Radi, head of the Economics Department and dean of the College of Commerce, 'Ayn Shams University: "A decline or decrease in oil revenues and returns, a decline in oil prices and the existence of one or more alternatives to oil will force the Arab world to pay more attention to other sectors."

Mr Faysal al-Sani': "Yes, I expect there will be an industrial and a technological revolution in the Arab homeland; I expect this revolution to coexist with the industry that is based on oil products."

Dr 'Abdallah al-Sa'idi: "An industrial revolution is possible over a long period of time. It can come about through plans jointly formulated by Arab countries to utilize resources in the best possible way. Such an industrial revolution can

come about by pursuing an industrial policy that is suitable to consumer needs and export requirements."

Dr Ahmad al-Safti: "I do not expect an industrial revolution in the near future."

Mr Muhammad Ma'mun: "The development of an industry based on oil was not rewarding. Huge investments were made to develop oil products, but the markets in advanced countries have been closed to our Arab products. There is no doubt that there will be an industrial revolution provided that funds are used to bring about progress in industry."

Dr Rushdi Barakat: "A shift away from oil as a principal foundation for the economy is bound to happen. Oil will become a foundation for development. Oil revenues will be relied upon to bring about an industrial revolution. There are early signs of industrial development in the Arab world and in some oil countries in particular where there are large industries for cement, steel, weapons and aluminum. These industries are considered a strong foundation for continued industrial progress and for diversifying the foundations of economic development. What is required is an effort to intensify and develop this shift in industry and make it become a principal part of the Arab countries' economies."

3. [Question] Do you expect the Arab world to become self-sufficient in food products?

Dr 'Abdallah al-Ma'jal: "If you mean that the Arab world would be producing all the food it consumes, then the answer to that question is no. And that would apply to all societies in the world. But if you mean the Arab world would become self-sufficient in some essential foods and ensure its food security by strengthening the economy of Arab society which, as a member of the international community, reacts positively to other societies through interdependence, then the answer to the question is yes."

Dr Mahsun Bahjat Jalal: "If agricultural capabilities in the region were to be developed, we would have enough food, and we will export. To do that, however, we will need basic equipment, and we will have to establish the institutions that are necessary. The Arab world has resources that can be integrated, and what it needs is to apply modern methods of farming. I believe that our food self-sufficiency ratio now is 50 percent or more."

Dr Edmond Na'im: "Arabs have the ability to become self-sufficient in food, but they have not yet coordinated their resolve to achieve that. Therefore, the self-sufficiency that is being sought is not expected to materialize in the near future."

Dr 'Ali ibn Talal al-Jihni: "Self-sufficiency in food is possible. But the question that ought to be asked is this: why should self-sufficiency in food be achieved? Food production, or the production of any agricultural crop, now depends to a large degree on machines and technical expertise. Most of this machinery and expertise is imported. Thus, if the Arab world were to become self-sufficient in food by utilizing imported means of production, it would have



failed in achieving the self-sufficiency it seeks. Those who may block one's efforts to obtain food directly can also deprive one of the means by which that food can be produced, considering that these means are imported from them. If the aim of such self-sufficiency in food is to have the ability to provide food in times of war and crises that do not last for a long period of time, then the best method for achieving that goal may be changing the system of strategic food reserve. This does not mean that agriculture is an economic activity that could be neglected. In fact, the opposite is true. The Arab world will not be able to achieve real economic growth unless per capita production efficiency rises. Raising production efficiency per capita is not possible if we neglect agriculture, the economic activity that is practiced by most of the population."

Dr 'Atif Qubrusi: "I am very pessimistic when it comes to the Arab world's self-sufficiency in food products. Arabs have not yet realized the catastrophe that awaits them because their consumption rates will continue to be greater than their production rates. We were somewhat optimistic about Sudan's capabilities, but our hopes in that regard were shattered. Agriculture requires greater attention than it's been getting, and the burden of agricultural development should fall on three centers: the Egyptian-Sudanese center, the Syrian-Iraqi center, and the Moroccan-Algerian center. Agricultural capabilities in those areas are tremendous, but for reasons that are hard to understand, agriculture has not held the position of importance it deserves to hold. However, agricultural development must not be considered an alternative to industrial development; it should be considered complementary to it."

Dr Ahmad al-Kabsi: "Despite its abundant land, water, human and material resources, the Arab world is considered to be the region of the world most incapable of feeding itself. Furthermore, it is also the region with the fastest growing shortage rates. It is a region of the world where the food situation is generally deteriorating. This has led to more reliance on foreign sources to meet the needs of local consumption. And that is the result of Arab agriculture's inability to keep up with the rapid growth in demand for these products. Accordingly, the difference between the value of imports and returns from Arab agricultural exports has been growing rapidly. In 1969 that difference amounted to about 200 million dollars only; in 1980 it rose to about \$16 billion. If this situation persists, this difference is expected to amount to \$130 billion by the year 2000. This requires the development of a clearly defined strategy for Arab food security. This strategy would be built around bringing about agricultural and economic integration with all the countries of the Arab homeland, not only to achieve self-sufficiency, but also to realize a surplus in agricultural products that can be exported to other countries."

Dr 'Abd-al-Hamid 'Awwad: "Unfortunately, I do not expect the Arab world as a whole to become self-sufficient in food. Today, as I mentioned, we are importing 35 percent of the food we need. If we were to look into the programs of important Arab agricultural countries, we would find that none of them meets the needs of its people. None of them provides basic agricultural materials, like wheat, nor primary materials for processing oils, fats and sugar. The reason for this situation is a shortage in material investments and skills that are utilized in agriculture. Sudan and Morocco have huge agricultural resources that cannot be utilized because of shortages in other local resources. Investments made in Arab agriculture by wealthy Arab countries would be economically

profitable, but it is a political investment that is necessary to ensure the Arabs' food security."

Dr 'Abbas al-Nasrawi: "The Arab world will not become independent as far as agricultural production is concerned. Quite the contrary, its reliance on agricultural imports will grow."

Mr Faysal al-Sani': "I do not expect the Arab homeland to become self-sufficient in food by the beginning of the 21st century. I expect that to happen by the middle of the next century."

Mr Muhammad Ma'mun: "Yes, the Arab world will become self-sufficient in food because we have everything we need to become self-sufficient."

Dr Ahmad al-Safti: "I don't believe so."

Dr 'Abdallah al-Sa'idi: "Arabs may become self-sufficient in food in a very long period of time or in a short period of time, but this would come about under a new international order in which advanced countries would be concerned about the Arab world achieving food security. In addition, the Arab world's food security depends on the Arabs having an actual, confirmed desire to achieve it."

Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im Radi: "Yes, I do expect food production to increase as time goes by. Evidence for this may be seen in the agricultural expansion that is taking place in Saudi Arabia and in the Gulf countries."

Dr Rushdi Barakat: "It is possible to achieve self-sufficiency in food if the Arab countries' agricultural resources are utilized and if arable land in Sudan and Iraq, for example, is cultivated."

4. [Question] Do you expect some Arabs will be still living on the brink of poverty?

Dr al-Ma'jal: Yes, I do, because there isn't enough time to allow cumulative change to bring about a shift in the characteristic manner in which income has been distributed and the social product utilized. However, no Arab country will have a monopoly over wealth or poverty even though differences between one country and another will be considerable."

Dr al-Jihni: "Unfortunately, some Arabs will still be living on the brink of poverty. This is primarily due to the fact that some Arab regimes are unable to provide security and stability. Without security and stability it would be impossible to raise the national product to a level that would make it possible to provide the minimum necessities of life for most citizens."

Dr al-Kabsi: "This depends on how much economic independence Arab countries can realize for their land, water, mineral, material, human and other resources that abound in the Arab world."

"Accordingly, if Arab countries can achieve an integrated strategy that can utilize such resources in a sound, economical manner and achieve some form of

economic integration between them, the phenomenon of people living on the brink of poverty will disappear."

"But if the Arab countries cannot achieve that, then not only will the number of those living on the brink of poverty grow, but the number of those living below subsistence levels will also grow."

Dr al-Nasrawi: "One cannot predict any noticeable rise that may occur in the standard of living in most Arab countries. Manifestations of poverty that we see today in Arab countries like Egypt and Sudan will continue to be evident."

Mr Faysal al-Sani': "Yes, some Arabs will still be living in poverty by the beginning of the next century."

Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im Radi: "It is natural that some Arabs will still be living on the brink of poverty. The brink of poverty is relative; however, the minimum standard for poverty will rise."

Dr 'Abdallah al-Sa'idi: "Yes, there will be poverty as long as the present standard of education--that is, the rate of illiteracy and the level of education--persists. There will be poverty as long as we continue to flounder as we are doing now in our social and economic planning."

Dr Ahmad al-Safti: "Most certainly this will be the case."

Mr Muhammad Ma'mun: "Yes, there will be poverty. The fact that some people would be living on the brink of poverty is normal whether the economic system is capitalist or socialist."

Dr Rushdi Barakat: "There will be poverty even if we were to reach a high level of prosperity. There are people in the United States itself living on the brink of poverty. The problem, I believe, does not lie with whether there are any poor people or not. The problem lies, on the one hand, in the number of poor people and, on the other hand, in the efforts that are being made by the state to overcome the problem."

Mr Ya'qub Yusuf: "If the economic process is regulated and if wealth is fairly distributed, I expect the standard of poverty to decline and standards of living to rise. There will be an economic balance in this regard between the different Arab regions."

5. [Question] Do you expect more regional economic coalitions to be established, or do you rather expect an economic unity to be established in the context of an Arab common market?

Prince 'Abdallah ibn Faysal ibn Turki: "I don't want to have any expectations. I'll just close my eyes and trust in God."

Dr al-Ma'jal: "The establishment of other regional coalitions is something that can be expected, but all that will contribute to joint Arab action that represents an outlet for development aspirations that are beyond the capabilities of one region."

Dr al-Jihni: "The economic need to establish more regional economic Arab coalitions is pressing. However, economic considerations alone will not be able to persuade all the governments of Arab countries to devote their efforts to the establishment of such economic coalitions regardless of their economic benefits to Arab citizens. If the Arab countries of the Gulf are well on their way to achieve an economic coalition in the context of the cooperation that exists between them on all levels, then it was political success which realized that economic success. It was the Gulf states' political success that led them to create the Cooperation Council for countries of the Arabian Gulf. Unfortunately, comprehensive economic unity for all Arab countries, like comprehensive political unity, will remain a wish that cannot be achieved for reasons that are well-known."

Dr Masikah: "I do not believe there will be economic unity among the Arab countries for several reasons, including the fact that these countries have different economic systems. Some have a free system, and some have a guided system. In addition, these countries have different political regimes, and the economic system is connected to the political regime. Also, the makeup of the economy in each Arab country and in Arab countries collectively is not complete. These Arab countries are also countries that consume and import goods; they do not produce and export them. That is why what may be stressed in those countries is the effort to adjust Arab economic systems to the requirements of joint Arab solidarity and coordination. Everyone's interests could be served by encouraging the establishment of specialized Arab economic coalitions and of economic projects that have more than two parties; everyone's interests could be served by making joint financing and investment projects more effective."

Dr Jalal: "In my judgment the establishment of coalitions like the Gulf Cooperation Council in North Africa, in the Arab Maghreb or in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula may be more likely. But I do not believe that Arab unity and effective coalitions will materialize soon because of foreign interventions from the east and the west. Besides, there is Israel, which is behind all the disasters in the area."

Dr Na'im: "I expect more regional economic coalitions to be established, but I do not expect an Arab common market like the European Common Market to be established in the foreseeable future."

Dr Qubrusi: "I regard the Gulf Cooperation Council to be an advanced step toward Arab economic unity as well as a model for it. It was the Benelux countries that set the precedent for what happened among the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council. The Benelux economic alliance preceded the establishment of American economic unity. It was tantamount to the nucleus around which the European Common Market grew. I hope the Gulf Cooperation Council can play that same role because it would then be able to prove the benefits and advantages of economic cooperation, and that would encourage Arab countries to act promptly and quickly to benefit from the results of cooperation."

Dr 'Awwad: "There is no doubt that the present age is the age of blocs. Small entities will find themselves in one way or another restricted in the choices that are available to them. The countries of Europe recognized that fact and

created the Common Market. Objective facts affirm that Arabs are qualified to play a distinguished economic role. Early signs of economic unity may have begun to manifest themselves in the Gulf Cooperation Council whose agencies must be developed so that the member states' economic, domestic, foreign and financial policies may be coordinated. As far as North Africa is concerned, merger plans that were being prepared by the Arab Maghreb Advisory Committee, which included Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, failed to materialize because the narrow parochial view of some officials prevailed. I believe that a return of awareness in North Africa will make the establishment of a group of countries possible. The population of that group of countries will be about 95 million persons by the year 2000. I also believe that the pressure of international and local economic reality will encourage the establishment of an Arab common market. This choice will become inevitable in everyone's eyes before the end of the present century."

Dr al-Nasrawi: "I do not expect an active and effective common Arab market will be established. Such a market has been in existence on the books or on bookshelves since 1950. As long as Arab political unity is missing, we will not be able to have an effective common market because political unity is the principal requirement for any economic integration. Based on existing facts and ongoing events it may be said that such political unity between Arab countries is not imminent in the near future."

Dr al-Kabsi: "As we approach the beginning of the 21st century, given the economic conditions we have in the world, I do not expect economic coalitions to develop into an Arab common market because such a development cannot come about unless there is economic unity. Such unity has its requirements, and these will hardly become available by the beginning of the next century. Therefore, the situation we have now will continue, and each country will try to create its own markets in the outside world either by entering into trade agreements or by competing in the markets of the outside world. Several Arab countries have concluded that competition in foreign markets requires that local production be diversified and production efficiency increased. This would pave the way for expanding the production base in each country, and that would allow an increase in trade among Arab countries, which then would not have to rely more and more on imports from abroad."

Mr Faysal al-Sani': "I expect more common economic regional coalitions will be established. These will ultimately have to come together and form a common Arab market."

Dr 'Abdallah al-Sa'idi: "Everyone will continue to hope for a common Arab market."

Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im Radi: "We will have to have regional economic coalitions in the 21st century; they constitute the minimum stages of economic integration among Arab countries."

Dr Ahmad al-Safti: "We won't have any more regional economic coalitions, nor will we have a common Arab market."

Mr Muhammad Ma'mun: "We will not have an economic unity in the near future or in the next 10 years. Instead, we will have alliances between two or more countries, and these alliances will be formed to achieve common interests."



6. [Question] If an Arab common market materializes, do you expect there will be total economic integration and coordination in industry, agriculture, banking and other areas of activity?

Dr al-Jihni: "The establishment of an Arab common market is something that can only be done gradually. Economic integration and coordination would come about one step at a time. And the degrees of coordination and integration would be determined by the development of the common market itself."

Dr Masikah: "Yes, there will be total economic integration if a common market is established. But since I don't believe there will be an Arab common market for reasons that I already mentioned, what we can aspire to, if current political regimes and economic systems continue to be what they are today, is coordination and integration in planning and programming. We can aspire to the establishment of joint projects."

Dr al-Kabsi: "More efforts to expand production in each Arab country must be made before the stage of having a fully operational Arab common market can be reached. In order for each Arab country to reap the rewards of having an Arab common market, coordination in several areas like agriculture and industry is a must. The least that may be done, for example, is to reach an agreement on the distribution of industrial production among Arab countries so that each country would produce in accordance with the relative advantage it has based on the relative availability of the factors of production. This should not be taken to mean that we are asking for total specialization in production. It rather means coordinating the production capabilities of each producer so that the primary objective of self-sufficiency can be achieved. Demand in several countries that are competing with each other may cause demand for engineering industries in the countries of the Arab world, for example, to be met at the lowest costs. This applies to agricultural production and to other kinds of production. If this happens, we should expect a shift in trade, and we would gradually be able to do without imports from the outside world. These imports would be replaced by locally produced Arab products. Naturally, this will have an effect on the countries of the outside world, but that effect may be avoided by adopting existing methods of regulating international trade. These methods are based on negotiations between international trade partners."

Dr 'Awwad: "An Arab common market must be based on removing all trade restrictions and barriers between the member countries. That in itself would not be enough to bring about a relatively rapid though painful change in the makeup of the economy. That is why an effort must be made to ensure a fair distribution of costs and benefits so that everyone's participation in the process can be guaranteed. On the other hand, in order for the Arabs not to become victimized by ongoing changes in the makeup of the international economy, capital intensive products must be established in the context of the over-all preparations that would be made in all Arab territory, which is more than 12.2 million square kilometers, holding this year between 175 and 180 million persons."

"Comprehensive coordination would make the following possible:

"1. The Arab economy would become incorporated. That in itself would be a spontaneous move enabling the Arab economy to preserve its financial and human resources and keep them from going abroad.

"2. The effect of size on expediting change would become evident. An Arab organization for nuclear research, for electronic and computer research, or for biological research can achieve for Arabs in 10 years what no country by itself can achieve in 100 years.

"As far as financial coordination is concerned, diverting surplus funds to Arab countries that have a shortage of funds could raise annual growth rates by 10 percent, if investment rates can be raised to 35 or 40 percent of the gross domestic product. Annual rates of growth in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania, Sudan, etc. have been somewhere between 2.5 and 5 percent for 10 years."

Dr al-Nasrawi: "Integration would take place first in the services sector: in banks, banking operations, insurance and education. It would be easier for the services sector to take part in integration because there are fewer private interests in that sector than there are in the agricultural and industrial sector. But as far as transportation and communications are concerned, these too would be integrated after the banking sector and banks because their operations require large capital and are carried out on a broad scale. To realize as much profits as possible, some kind of integration and coordination between these sectors would have to be established because integration and coordination between them would be much easier than integration and coordination in agriculture and industry."

Mr Faysal al-Sani': "Yes, if an Arab common market is established, I expect there will be adequate integration and coordination in industry, agriculture, finance and other sectors. Without such integration all parties will reach a dead end in their reliance on the markets and capabilities of each country".

Mr Ya'qub Yusuf: "If what I envisioned in my first answer turns out to be accurate, then I expect there will be several joint Arab projects in the 21st century. These will be projects whose aim will be to achieve self-sufficiency in food or industrial materials, or they will be projects whose aim will be to achieve economic integration among the four regional groups that I mentioned. This would be done by establishing an Arab common market or by cooperating in the areas of communications, transportation, tourism or the movement of labor."

Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im Radi: "Based on the present situation, I do not believe that an Arab common market will be established before the end of the first quarter of the next century. However, I would not rule out the possibility that certain forms of cooperation and coordination in the aforementioned areas will exist."

Dr 'Abdallah al-Sa'idi: "And why shouldn't an Arab common market be established if intentions are true and there is firm resolve to establish it? An Arab common market could bring about the economic integration of participating countries."

Mr Muhammad Ma'mun: "If what is meant by an Arab common market is a market that is modeled after the European Common Market, then such a market would lead to integration over a period of no less than 50 years. But if this market involves nothing more than reductions in customs fees, then it will not lead to integration and coordination."

Dr Ahmad al-Safti: "Nothing like that will materialize."

7. [Question] Will workers be able to move freely throughout the Arab world or will their mobility be restricted under an Arab common market?

Dr al-Jihni: "An Arab common market will of course stimulate the workers' mobility, and if that does not happen, then what we will have will not be a common market. The most important commodity that is bought and sold in the marketplace is the mental and physical energy expended by people in the process of production. I am referring here to the services provided by workers. Such services would flourish in a common market."

Dr Masikah: "Whether or not an Arab common market is established, Arab countries must make an effort to end their differences and their existing conflicts because, on the one hand, these constitute a major obstacle to the achievement of their development programs. On the other hand, the Arabs' differences and conflicts impede the utilization of Arab labor capabilities. Unfortunately, current Arab conditions have led to something that looks like an invasion of parts of the Arab homeland. Hundreds of thousands of non-Arab workers have replaced Arab workers whose services either were deemed to be no longer necessary or whose applications for employment were turned down. This has had a negative impact on the Arab employment market: foreign workers have influenced the fabric and the very nature of social life in the Arab countries in question, and large sums of money paid to foreign workers in foreign currency have been transferred abroad. These funds could have added to Arab citizens' incomes."

Dr Jalal: "I may be pessimistic, but I believe there will be more restrictions on the movement of Arab workers in the Arab homeland. This will be due to political, security and economic reasons that the region is experiencing."

Dr al-Kabsi: "It cannot be said that emigration from Arab countries, which has been occurring on a wide scale throughout the Arab homeland during the last period, was either calculated or planned. Attempts to figure out how extensive that emigration has been and what its effects were are neither conclusive nor precise. But the most serious aspects of this temporary migration may be its magnitude and its variety. It is possible that by 1985 about 15 million persons would have migrated between the countries of the Arab homeland. These migrations involve all kinds of skills, specializations and activities. There is no doubt that having the same national, religious and linguistic origins has played a principal role in facilitating workers' mobility and integrating labor and capital. Despite the ease with which capital is expected to move toward labor or land, wherever these might be available, regional causes requiring emphasis on principal environmental projects changed the well-known economic rules, and expatriate communities have continued to be marginal to the host country. Many scientific assessments of the situation expect the number of expatriates to decline in the nineties. They expect expatriates to be mostly people occupying the top and bottom rungs of the skills and employment ladder."

Dr 'Awwad: "Workers' mobility in the Arab homeland is a political issue. Deep down it is also a social and cultural issue; in addition, there are economic justifications for it. In this regard I expect two trends: first, Arabs will stop immigrating to Europe, and some of them will return to their homelands;

second, Arabs will replace Asian emigres in the Arabian Gulf. Emigration is an objective necessity dictated by the demographic and economic makeup of Arab cadres and workers. Industries that are being established call for more labor mobility, and this makes the coordination of emigration a fundamental choice in Arab policy to prevent bottlenecks in the growth of a new industry that is being established in one area or another of the Arab world."

Dr al-Nasrawi: "In an Arab common market Arab workers would migrate from one Arab country to another, and more of them will do so, particularly from countries like Egypt, Yemen and Sudan. But the replacement of foreign workers by this labor force is a purely political matter. It is a question that economics cannot answer."

Mr Faysal al-Sani': "Under an Arab common market Arab workers will have greater mobility in the Arab homeland."

Dr 'Abdallah al-Sa'idi: "Workers' mobility in the Arab homeland will indisputably flourish, and everyone will benefit from that."

Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im Radi: "I believe that workers' mobility will flourish. The existing situation among Arab countries will generate its antithesis, and that will lead to easy terms for workers' mobility and for the movement of capital in the near future."

Dr Rushdi Barakat: "Unrestricted mobility for workers and a guaranteed right to work could be among the conditions for a common market. Consequently, workers' mobility throughout the Arab homeland would flourish."

8. [Question] Will Arab capital be diverted and invested in the Arab homeland?

Dr al-Ma'jil: "Yes, the tendency to invest in the Arab homeland will grow, first of all because the economic frameworks that encourage such a tendency will have taken shape. Second, these investments will grow as a result of the development of investment guarantees in the Arab world. Third, the tendency to invest in the Arab homeland will grow as a manifestation of the cooperative relationships that exist between the men of the Arab private sector and Arab institutions."

Dr Jalal: "Investment capabilities in the Arab region exist; they only need to be identified. There is no doubt that the return on investment in the Arab homeland per dollar or riyal is greater than that in the West. The problem, however, is that Arab investments reflect the mental attitude of investors. What is important is that essential legal, political and social guarantees be given. Investment guarantees and the absence of any risks to speak of are among the reasons why Arab investors invest in the West."

Dr Masikah: "Investing Arab capital in the Arab homeland depends on the success of a future policy which Arab leaders are supposed to adopt. That policy depends on the conviction that common action and coordination are essential to the establishment of a better Arab society. We must not forget that that was the objective behind establishing the Arab League and its organizations and authorities; we must not forget that that was the aim of Arab agreements that

were reached through the league. But most of this has been delayed because of foreign conspiracies and Arab disputes."

Dr al-Jihni: "After taking commercial and political risks into account investors are always looking for the highest return on their investments. If a large part of Arab capital is invested now abroad, outside the Arab world, even though it seems that high rates of return on investments in the Arab homeland are achievable, that means that investors do not feel comfortable about political conditions in some Arab countries. Nevertheless, this does not relieve some wealthy Arabs of their national responsibility to assume a reasonable amount of risk to make their countries prosper, even if that were to lead to a reduction in their financial returns."

Dr Na'im: "A small portion of Arab capital will be invested inside the Arab homeland, but that will depend on the establishment of new economic coalitions and, in general, either establishing new industries or expanding existing ones."

Dr 'Awwad: "It is possible for Arab funds to be invested in the homeland, but let's be practical. There are two channels through which capital may be diverted: 1) public funds, and these depend on political decisions--direct loans, contributions to investment companies, etc.; and 2) private funds. Conditions for moving those funds are security, absolute freedom for capital and its profits to come and go, freedom to manage and the availability of adequate profits. The first two conditions require legislative measures. As far as security is concerned, I would suggest that the investor's country as well as the country where the investment is made guarantee the investor's rights, whether that investor is an individual or a firm. As far as profitability is concerned, I would suggest making the work of the Arab investor easier by strengthening the engineering and economic studies sector and creating banks for projects."

Dr al-Nasrawi: "Unfortunately, Arab capital will continue to be invested in European and American banks."

Al-Sani': "Yes, investments will be shifted, and Arab capital will be invested inside the Arab homeland."

Dr al-Sa'idi: "Of course Arab capital will be invested inside the Arab homeland. That will be one of the basic and significant principles upon which the Arab common market will be based. It is one of the principles that could determine the success of that market."

Dr Radi: "Most investments will be diverted, and funds will be invested inside the Arab homeland."

Ma'mun: "Arab funds will be invested inside the Arab homeland when political conditions become stable, and not before."

Yusuf: "If we have coordination and cooperation and if our relationships with foreign countries are changed in a balanced manner, such conditions could bring back into the homeland Arab funds that were invested abroad."

9. [Question] Do you expect to see a functional unified monetary system with one Arab currency and one central Arab bank under an Arab common market?

Dr al-Jihni: "Without one Arab central bank, there will not be a unified monetary system. And having one Arab currency is a dream that cannot be achieved unless comprehensive Arab unity is achieved. Everyone who is familiar with the priorities of the economics of currency understands that one Arab currency cannot be issued as long as each Arab government pursues an independent financial and monetary policy. Financial and monetary policies affect the value of currency. How can there be one currency and numerous financial and monetary policies? At the same time political independence requires the existence of an independent monetary and financial policy. Members of the European Common Market failed in their efforts to issue one currency even though they agreed to do that more than 20 years ago. And it is certain they will not succeed in issuing one currency unless their effort in that regard is preceded by a comprehensive political unity. In other words, comprehensive political unity is one of the essential conditions for having one currency."

Dr Masikah: "I do not think that any of this will materialize easily whether or not the Arab common market is established. What I expect might happen, if Arab disputes are cleared and if agreement is reached on a common and sedate Arab action, is this: unified policies and plans to strengthen the Arab economy could be set forth, and efforts could be made to integrate the economy in accordance with common plans, common programs and common projects."

Dr Qubrusi: "I cannot say with confidence that Arabs will adopt one currency. This is something that can only come about when trade between Arab countries reaches such a level that converting one Arab currency into another becomes an impediment to the growing volume of trade."

Dr Na'im: "I do not expect there will be a uniform financial system or one Arab currency in the foreseeable future. Nor do I expect there will be one central Arab bank. It is possible, however, to think of an Arab currency with limited proportions; it would be based on the margins of existing currencies."

Dr al-Kabsi: "Let's keep in mind that financial integration for the European Common Market is still in the experimental stage. These countries did not achieve the financial integration they now have in one leap. What we are saying is simply this: financial integration follows integration in production and in services. The course of financial integration does not parallel the course of integration in other areas. The reason for this is that it is productive power that determines financial power. I think that coordinating efforts between the financial systems of the various Arab countries should continue so that every Arab country would have an understanding of the financial policies that are followed in the remaining countries of the Arab homeland. The purpose of such an effort would be to reach an agreement on common measures to be taken in the face of crises that develop in each country--a balance of payments crisis, an inflation crisis, or an unemployment crisis. The understanding that would be gained and the common solutions that would be proposed to problems could pave the way for raising the standard of coordination among the various countries' financial systems. This may be manifested in the establishment of a central bank and one Arab currency. However, that is contingent first upon reaching a stage



at which the Arab common market would be fully operational; second, it is contingent upon reaching a stage of total coordination in production. Thus, the change would come about in the following manner: first, an Arab common market; second, coordination in production; and third, a uniform financial system."

Dr 'Awwad: "If an Arab common market is established, it will have to start out by removing customs barriers gradually. It will have to standardize laws that have to do with customs, specifications, the tax system or structure, the accounting and statistical system and so on. Along with its efforts to bring about those changes an Arab common market would have to try to establish the foundations of monetary unity by controlling the fluctuations that each currency will be allowed to undergo. Total monetary unity would be the last stage in the process of establishing structures for unity. The presence of one currency and one central bank requires the presence of one flag and, consequently, there would be a political unity similar to that of the United States of America or any other suitable formula. The birth of one, uniform Arab currency may prove to be a difficult and protracted process, but it is something that we will see after the year 2000."

Dr al-Nasrawi: "A unified monetary system with one Arab currency is not expected. In fact, we must not concentrate on that. If we are truly striving to bring about the success of an Arab common market, we must first achieve political unity."

Al-Sani': "I expect a single monetary system to evolve under an Arab common market. I expect us to have one Arab currency and one Arab bank. This may happen around the beginning or the middle of the century."

Dr Radi: "I do not believe that such matters will lead to the establishment of one financial system or one central bank soon enough. Such things require a long period of time. What is important, however, is the beginning."

Dr al-Sa'idi: "This is possible. Evidence for it lies in the European Common Market's experience with having a standard currency that combines a basket of currencies."

Ma'mun: "I don't believe so. In addition, something like that would depend on the common market's form and on the system it will follow. If the common market goes beyond customs, and if it affects funds and investments, something like that will then be possible. But if the common market is limited to a customs alliance, then it is unlikely that such goals can be achieved."

Dr al-Safti: "I do not believe that an Arab common market will be established as long as the current situation in the Arab homeland persists."

Yusuf: "Based on present experience I am inclined to think it likely that we will have financial coordination aimed at having one Arab currency or establishing one central Arab bank. The first step in that regard would be taken after an economic merger in the basic sectors is achieved. These basic sectors are either industrial, agricultural or service related. Such a merger would create the appropriate conditions for the establishment of a uniform financial system."

10. [Question] What are your expectations regarding the population of the Arab world by the year 2000? What effect do you think a decline or an increase in the population will have on the condition of the economy?

Dr al-Ma'jil: "I expect population growth to be almost steady. One can predict such a rate of growth by comparing it with the rate of growth over the last 10 years. I would think that there will be close to 240 million people. The increase will have a positive effect on economic growth, particularly since it will be accompanied by cultural growth and a change in production capabilities and consumer habits."

Dr Na'im: "There will be considerable growth in the population density of some Arab countries, particularly among the poorer classes. Organizing useful educational programs very quickly is essential so that misery is not increased as the population grows."

Dr al-Nasrawi: "The rate of population growth will continue to rise. That will increase pressure on current economic resources and on political systems as well."

Dr 'Awwad: "The IBRD expects that by the year 2000 the number of people will be about 263 million. If we were to keep the same ratio of people in the labor force that we have now, we would have 97 million people in the work force or about 38 percent of the population. This is an increase of almost 44 million persons. At the present time 69 percent of Arab workers (38 million persons) are employed in agriculture. Their productivity is low: it is 12 percent of productivity in the industrial sector. If we assume that we will keep the same number of workers in agriculture, then the Arabs would have to create 44 million jobs in industry and services. In my judgment employing all this work force in the industrial and services sector would require increasing the size of these sectors more than two and a half times, and that would be difficult. A noticeable increase in the population will mean that the 1976 population density figure of 11.8 persons per square kilometer will become about 21.9 persons per square kilometer by the year 2000. This means that farm land will decrease and the number of homes will double. There will be an awesome increase in the volume of social services, since the ratio of urbanites to the total population will increase. Such population pressure will bring about changes in the prevailing economic, social and cultural structures. However, the greatest danger to the Arab economy, if, God forbid, current trends persist, lies in the inability of Arab agriculture to meet the needs of Arabs."

Dr al-Kabsi: "If we were to consider population growth over the next 15 years, we would not be expecting any change in the current rate of growth. The death rate is declining as a result of increased health awareness and improved health care. Also the family's standard of living and education has risen. Births are also declining because the call for family planning is becoming widespread and the cost of living is rising. If, however, we were to look at the population as a force that influences economic activity from both a consumer and production point of view, we must then look beyond the numbers or the change in the number of people. We must look more closely into the people's distinguishing characteristics, and we must look into the factors that affect their economic activity. Such factors include their level of education and technical training,

women's participation in the labor force, a worker's productive years, his production efficiency, the environment of production, the people's mobility and other factors. If we were to study each one of these factors separately, we would find there has been little change over the past 30 years. And if we were to consider the total, cumulative result of these factors, we would find the change hardly noticeable.

"If we were to consider the economic situation with respect to economic activity, to the level of coordination between sectors of the economy, the factors affecting the economy, and the effects of economic activity on the GNP and the standard of living, we would find that most Arab countries rely on the activity of one sector. In most cases that sector is agriculture. These countries are almost relying on one crop in their foreign trade, and they are trying at the same time to develop industrial activity, which is facing stiff competition from foreign industrial countries. Although some Arab countries rely on their natural oil resources, they have not yet been able to make the best use of them by diversifying into petrochemical industries or establishing industries that are related to oil. Although the possibility for investment is linked with financial and monetary policies, we cannot declare emphatically that these policies have stabilized enough to allow an increase in investments from local sources. Evidence for this lies in the fact that opportunities for foreign investments have been created in many Arab countries. To put it briefly, if the increase in the population is not accompanied by growth in economic activity, the standard of living will fall. And that will cause a further reduction in economic activity, and it will destabilize the economy. Therefore, if the governments of Arab countries do not make the effort to improve the production efficiency of Arab workers and if they do not draw up effective development plans, the increase in the population will inevitably double existing economic problems."

Al-Sani': "I expect the number of people in the Arab world to be around 250 million by the beginning of the next century. I also believe that population growth will stimulate economic growth."

Dr al-Sa'idi: "It is known that the rate of population growth in most Arab countries is much higher than it is in industrial countries. As long as the rates of cultural, social and economic growth remain the same, the number of people in Arab countries will be expected to double in one century. Egypt is an example of that. In 1949 there were 19 million persons in Egypt; in 1985 there are about 49 million."

Dr Radi: "I believe that the number of people in the Arab homeland will increase as time goes by. This increase will be a result of relative improvements in economic conditions and of the failure to put a well-considered policy to limit population growth into action."

Yusuf: "The number of people in the Arab region is expected to reach 200 million. The population factor will be very important. I am hoping there will be change in the caliber of those people with respect to the labor force's contribution to production. I also expect women's involvement in production and employment to be greater than it is today. As far as men are concerned, I expect there will be changes in the businesses men will be involved in, and these

changes will be more appropriate to the conditions of society. In addition, the Arab world's hidden unemployment in the 21st century will be nothing compared to the hidden unemployment we have today. I expect Arab workers to be utilized in a better and a more ideal way. Also the Arab brain drain will stop: Arabs will not emigrate from the Arab region, and this manpower will contribute its physical and mental energies to the development of Arab societies."

11. [Question] How do you think cooperation between Arab countries in communications and transportation will evolve? Will we see, for example, one Arab airline? Will we see a major highway system connecting all the Arab countries together? Will there be a central radio or television station and so on?

Dr Na'im: "Based on the conclusions I draw from existing Arab relations, the only thing that may materialize in the foreseeable future is a road system connecting the countries together."

Dr al-Nasrawi: "A principal road system is more achievable than a uniform Arab airline. This is because there are airlines which have been doing business for a long period of time. These airlines have their own private and permanent interests. At the same time the economic balance that has to do with a road system in the Arab world indicates that all parties would stand to benefit from such a system. The implementation of such a project is most certainly more likely politically and economically. However, the establishment of one uniform broadcasting system seems far-fetched for political reasons."

Al-Sani': "I expect development in telephone and telegraph communications and in radio as well as television broadcasts to be faster than development in transportation by railroad, land routes and air. I believe that transportation will develop at a slower rate than it did in the past. I also expect joint railroad and airline firms to be established."

Dr al-Sa'idi: "If present conditions persist, I do not believe that any of the things which have been mentioned will happen. However, if there is an Arab common market such projects can be accomplished."

Dr Barakat: "Following the development of ARABSAT, the Arab Satellite Organization indicates that this organization's success requires Arab cooperation in that context. If there is no cooperation, that organization will fail despite the huge investments that were poured into it. I believe that if we have the cooperation we hope to have, we should see an Arab television station, and we should see broadcasting stations sharing material. The success of such ideas could revolutionize Arab relations in that they could overcome existing political barriers. The success of such ideas could also bring about major accomplishments in education and in the area of closer relations among the Arab peoples. The idea of having an Arab airline is a beautiful dream that constitutes the real cornerstone in the effort to achieve true Arab unity."

Dr Radi: "Which one of us does not dream of that day when we can see close Arab cooperation in more than one field? Such cooperation can manifest itself in an airline, a land transportation system or a central broadcasting station that would unify points of view or bring them closer together. Such cooperation could add to the depth and breadth of Arab thought and release it from its confines."

12. [Question] At the present time tourism is an important factor in the economies of some Arab countries. Do you expect a radical change to take place in domestic and foreign tourism in the Arab world?

Dr Na'im: "I expect there will be radical change in foreign tourism. In other words, more people from abroad will come to Arab countries. But this will happen after the Palestinian question is settled."

Dr Masikah: "Tourism depends on a natural climate that is appropriate; it depends on political stability, security and on the professional skill and training of those who are employed in that industry. The Arab world, which has an excellent climate for tourism, has taken major strides toward providing trained professionals in the field; it has built attractive complexes and centers for tourists. If these efforts continue to develop, if the Arab countries succeed in setting forth a common policy on tourism for the Arab community or for the outside world, and if political stability and security are assured in those countries, one can affirm that the importance of returns from tourism will not be less than those from oil or from other sectors of the economy."

Dr al-Nasrawi: "Tourism will develop as a means for raising per capita income in the Arab world. Arab industries that have been paying attention to tourism will continue to do so, and they will continue to benefit from that. Countries that have not yet been paying much attention to tourism will discover that tourism is an important source of hard currency."

Al-Sani': "I expect considerable development in domestic and foreign tourism in the Arab homeland."

Barakat: "In some Arab countries like Tunisia and Morocco tourism is considered important. Egypt too has been paying attention to tourism, and it could be rewarded for its interest. Other countries may follow Egypt's lead to realize better conditions that would be compatible with the tourist capabilities that are available to them."

Dr al-Sa'idi: "Political and military stability in the Arab region will cause domestic and foreign tourism in most Arab countries to develop. An example of that is the situation with tourism in Egypt. Tourism was affected significantly when Egypt's foreign policy deteriorated. Tourism in Egypt was affected by the lack of political and military stability even though what makes Egypt a suitable tourist attraction and what attracts tourists to it had not disappeared."

Dr al-Safti: "I can't imagine any change in the tourist industry as long as the present Arab style continues to exist."

13. [Question] How do you think the Arab world's economic relations with the outside world will change?

Dr al-Ma'jil: "It will be difficult to formulate one Arab negotiating position on the economy, and it will also be difficult to persuade the world to deal with that position. I expect regional coalitions to be established, and I expect them to have their own joint organizations that will support the negotiating position of the countries participating in them. These organizations will coordinate

their activities through the Arab League and its organizations. On the other hand, such a tendency will make it incumbent upon the Arab world to assume a distinguished position as an economic power united in solidarity. This fact will be imposed on the world and will be reflected on political relationships. In other words, the Arab world will become an effective economic power that can impose its political will through its economic relations."

Dr Na'im: "It is not possible to think about developing Arab relations with the outside world in a manner advantageous to the economies of Arab countries until the Palestinian question is settled."

Dr al-Nasrawi: "Present Arab reliance on western industrial countries will continue. Besides, Arab countries will expand their trade relations with Third World countries. As a matter of principle, however, it may be said that when it comes to trade, the nature of the Arabs' economic relations will have a somewhat orientalized western stamp, particularly with regard to funds and imports."

Dr Masikah: "Arab countries, like any other country, cannot by themselves or as a group live in isolation from the rest of the world. The lives of states, like the lives of individuals, would be inconceivable outside a framework for coexistence and mutual cooperation aimed at achieving integration. Whether the Arab world remains a society that consumes and imports goods, as it does now, or becomes a productive society that exports goods, its economic relations with the outside world can only become closer. It is my great hope that the Arab countries' economic relations with the outside world will be based on the following principles and foundations:

--"Maximum benefit is to be derived from the scientific and industrial progress that has been achieved by the outside world, particularly in the areas of basic scientific research and applied research. Results of that progress are to be transferred to the Arab countries.

--"The brain drain that is taking place in Arab countries as a result of the emigration of intellectuals and educated people must be stopped. Unfortunately, this brain drain is growing, and people are leaving Arab countries that are suffering from the horrors of war and domestic and parochial disputes or from the lack of suitable employment opportunities. Accordingly, plans must be made to bring those people back to the mother country and to benefit from them.

--"Joint production and industrial projects are to be established in Arab countries; this is to be done with the participation and cooperation of foreign countries or firms.

--"Some Arab capital is to be used and invested abroad in carefully thought out productive projects, instead of investing all those funds or the larger part of them in ordinary deposits in banks."

Dr 'Awwad: "By the year 2000 the outside world will find itself facing a bloc of Arab countries with significant financial and human resources. By then the population of the Arab world will be a little less than that of the United States. At that time it will be enough if we can speak with one voice; if we do, everyone will listen. The state of disunity we are in at the present time is



regrettable. Let's take, for example, the countries of North Africa. Each one of these countries is negotiating separately with the European Common Market, but if they were to negotiate as one bloc, matters would be different. It is marginal issues that are laying traps here and there and impeding Arab progress toward a common future. It is extraordinary that some of these countries are insisting on a literal application of what the enemies of the future intended."

Dr al-Kabsi: "It is natural for the Arab world to have relations with the outside world, and it is also natural for some countries, particularly the developing countries, to have a deficit in the balance of trade or in the balance of payments. It is an accepted fact that some countries will borrow from others to deal with an emergency situation, to increase investments in that country or to move the development effort forward. However, if Arab countries do not become aware of the nature of the economic course they are pursuing, and if they do not try to correct that course at the right time, their economic relationship with the outside world will assume a different character."

"It has been noticed that economic conditions in the Arab homeland are unstable. Economic development plans are merely attempts to avoid a material explosion of an economic crisis whose roots in some countries go back to the days that preceded political independence. The consequences of that crisis, however, surfaced later. Also much effort and many resources that should have been devoted to development and economic change were consumed by political and military tension within the Arab region. Consequently, local resources are not being used to meet actual needs; there is no surplus in local production that could be used for export; the deficit in the balance of trade and in the balance of payments has been growing for a long period of time; foreign loans have increased; and it has now become possible for foreign capital to consolidate its exploitation of local resources and to invest in Arab countries."

"As far as other countries of the world are concerned, we know that there is a critical economic crisis whose early signs have been evident since the end of the sixth decade of this century. Most countries of the world noticed the early signs of this crisis, and they tried to strengthen economic conditions in their countries: the European Common Market was reorganized; the effectiveness of the market of Europe's socialist countries was increased; and trade cooperation between the United States and European countries was increased when Japan's economy was on an upswing. The countries of the world found a principal market for their products in the Arab countries. Foreign funds invested in Arab countries are invested in the production of consumer goods, which attract all the funds they could attract; these funds would otherwise have gone into local savings accounts. This is also being done to continue these countries' subordination to foreign countries. To summarize: relations with the outside world could change over the next 15 years after political conditions stabilize and economic conditions begin to follow a natural course. We would then be able to do business with the outside world on the basis of mutual advantages."

Al-Sani': "I expect the Arab world's economic relations with the rest of the world to grow. I expect those relations to be more balanced and more diverse."

Yusuf: "If we were to consider the Arab region's economic relations with the outside world under Arab cooperation and economic integration, we would realize that the world would see this region as a formidable economic bloc. The world

would then change its way of looking at the Arab region, and it would consider it a broad market for its products. The world would see the Arab region as a safe place for its investments. The Arabs' negotiating clout would be expected to increase considering the collective position Arab countries would assume toward foreign trade issues, issues that have to do with technology transfer or preserving the region's economic interests. That in turn would give the Arab economy as a whole a new shot in the arm."

Dr al-Sa'idi: "The Arab world's relations with the outside world could undergo a positive change that would serve Arab interests, or they could undergo a negative change that would serve the interests of the outside world. This matter is up to the Arab countries themselves: are they serious about formulating a policy and devising domestic as well as foreign economic, political and social programs that would give the outside world a sense of their earnestness in pursuing the course of development?"

Dr Barakat: "Change in the Arabs' economic relations with the outside world is a must. The greater part of the Arabs' relations with the outside world is concentrated around oil, and oil is a commodity whose economics, consumption and prices are subject to change. Such change, of course, is due to the existence of alternatives to oil as a source of energy, even though these alternatives still need a long period of time and the world cannot do without oil within the short range. These reasons must compel the Arabs to turn their attention to other activities because the role of oil is changing. Arabs must not rely on oil alone in their relations with the outside world. They must make future plans so they can face any change in the role of oil. At that time relations between Arab countries and the outside world and how these relations are structured will be affected by those changes."

14. [Question] Do you expect the Israelis to control and dominate Middle Eastern markets if a peaceful settlement is achieved in the Middle East?

Dr al-Ma'jil: "I do not expect a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. The matter will be settled by force before the end of the first decade of the next century, and perhaps even before the beginning of the century. The Middle East problem will be settled in a non-traditional manner, and that settlement will be imposed through historical developments within Arab societies and within the society in the occupied land."

Dr al-Jihni: "And why would the Israelis control the markets of the Middle East? The Arabs are the world's oldest and most skillful traders. If Israel appears to us to be a formidable giant, that is due primarily to two factors: first, Israel controls the United States' political decisions, and it can thus acquire advanced U.S. technology and receive continuous U.S. economic support. Second, Arab countries cannot make a single military decision. So far, they have even failed to agree on the foundations for a peaceful solution to their dispute with Israel. How then can a peaceful settlement in the Middle East be achieved? But if peace in the Middle East is achieved--regardless of how it is achieved--the Israelis will not be superior to the Arabs in anything. The Jews have been living with the Arabs for many, many years, and they never controlled Arab markets when they had absolute freedom and could participate in all trade activities."

Dr Na'im: "I expect Arab countries to exercise financial control over the state of Israel. I also expect Israel's dependence on Arab markets to be vital."

Dr al-Nasrawi: "If a political settlement in the region is achieved, the Israelis will find the Arab market profitable. But because Israel is a small country, it will not be able to play a dominant economic role in the area."

Dr Masikah: "In case of war the aim of Israel's policy is the destruction of the Arab economy. In case of peace its aim is to control it. That is why Arabs have to be willing to oppose Israel's objectives in war and in peace. They have to do so by formulating common economic policies and plans that would keep them out of harm's way and preserve their pan-Arab and national interests. An integrated Arab plan that is either political or economic is the only way this can be achieved."

Dr Qubrusi: "Ultimately, Israel will have to face an inescapable economic fact: it will have to face the fact that it is not an economic project and that it cannot define itself by the basic factors of its existence. Israel will have to face the fact that its economy is a subordinate economy. As time goes by Israel's reliance on other countries will create complications and difficulties for the countries which have borne its burdens. Eventually, these countries will reduce their support for Israel, and Israel will eventually be compelled to turn to the countries of the Middle East. Israel will be forced to look at these countries from two perspectives. It can either consider the countries of the Middle East its captive markets, or it can coexist with its neighbors in peace and justice. So far Israel has not seen the Arab countries as anything but captive markets, sources of water, and sources of cheap labor. This short-sighted view will ultimately make Israel weaker because Israel cannot survive unless it is willing to become part of the Middle East. Israel will not survive unless it is willing to live in peace with its neighbors."

Dr 'Awwad: "I do not expect Israel to control Middle Eastern markets because foreign trade is controlled by certain skills. And even if we were to concede that trade with Israel is possible, some coordination among the Arabs would negate that possibility. The Zionist state may succeed more than the Arabs in some high-tech industries, but Arabs can achieve such success by mobilizing capital and cadres that are available here and there. In addition, they can have highly specialized organizational programs that would enable them to achieve significant results. I think the Arab world has to unify its efforts at least in the area of advanced technology. Arabs must get a firm grasp of that technology, and they must modify it and develop it before the end of this century. Otherwise, the opportunity we have now will be lost. What I fear is that Israel will conquer U.S. markets as a result of the economic agreement that was recently signed by those countries. The results of that agreement give us cause for concern: in 1984 the Zionist state's exports grew 7 percent, while its exports to the United States grew 34 percent. Intensifying this coordination in the future means saving the Zionist state's institutions of production from a recession. This is what the Arabs must pay attention to now. The least we can do now is agree on a minimum measure of political, economic, commercial, scientific and cultural coordination between our Arab countries. In addition to political summit conferences that are held, I hope Arab leaders will have economic summit conferences to define the general framework for coordination between them and

pay close attention to accomplishments. There is no question that accomplishments in the economic area will ultimately have a positive effect on politics."

Dr al-Kabsi: "The establishment of the state of Israel in Palestine and in the Arab homeland was defined by political and international intentions. But as imperialism advanced, colonialist interests joined international Zionist interests in a settler colonialism of this Arab area. It is extraordinary that economic considerations have always been a decisive factor in Israel's political decisions. The gravest such decision was the decision to go to war. What may be called 'military Keynesianism' is the basic law of action in Israeli society. As the Israeli economy developed, it began facing serious restrictions that were impeding its continued growth and development. There was the problem of having a narrow domestic market, a limited ability to expand toward the European and American markets and a labor shortage. There was also a shortage of capital and water resources. A short time ago Israelis came up with their views on economic relations between Israel and the Arab countries. Israel's attempts to assume economic control over our area have taken on numerous forms. Israel insisted on economic normalization measures under its agreement with Egypt; it engaged in annexation operations; it depleted resources on the West Bank; and it engaged in economic destruction and attrition operations. In Lebanon Israel penetrated the country and established economic control over it. One scenario shows the Zionist plan 'envisioning' the construction of a regional center in the Middle East that would specialize in capital intensive industries and scientific industries. This center would be integrated with the remaining countries of the region that have a large supply of labor and primary resources."

Al-Sani': "This state cannot control the markets of the Middle East with its anticipated and expected resources."

Yusuf: "If economic unity is achieved, if Arab resources are developed, if the economic process is regulated, and if wealth is fairly distributed, the Israel that exists today will cease to exist. This is particularly true because Israel derives its present strength from the Arabs' weakness and division. Any action taken to integrate the Arabs will weaken Israel significantly and may even cause it to disappear as a regional power. I believe that Palestine will once again become part of the greater Arab homeland by the beginning of the 21st century."

Dr al-Sa'idi: "I believe that a peaceful settlement cannot be linked with Israeli control because if the achievement of peace is paralleled by a serious effort to bring about economic and social development, Israel will not be able to control markets in the Middle East. Therefore, before we reach a peaceful settlement, we must give the general development effort a strong push forward."

Dr Barakat: "I do not expect Israel to control the markets of the Middle East. Israel does not have any opportunities to trade with the Arab world even if a settlement of the political crisis is reached. Israel does not import anything of significance from the Arab world except oil. In addition, anti-Israeli sentiments among the people play a major role in the consumption of goods. Therefore, trade between Israel and the Arab countries is the most that can happen in the event of a political settlement, but Israel will not have economic control. And trade between Israel and the Arab countries would come about only over a long period of time."

Dr Radi: "I do not at all expect Israel to control the markets of the Middle East in the next century. Such an expectation would run counter to all other expectations."

Dr al-Safti: "Yes, I do expect Israel to have economic control."

Ma'mun: "I do not expect Israel to have control over the markets of the Middle East. The current economic situation in Arab countries gives Israel an opportunity to monopolize the market for a certain period of time. That creates hostile feelings that will lead to intensified Arab efforts to produce more. Arabs will have the urge to improve their standards and to enter into stiff competition with Israeli products."

15. [Question] What effect, do you expect the economic situation to have on the political situation? Do you think it will be negative or positive?

Dr al-Ma'jil: "Rapid economic development in the Arab homeland--in each individual country and in joint Arab action--will, on the one hand, strengthen the Arab homeland's relative clout among the world's societies. It will also strengthen the Arab homeland's ability to develop its own capabilities to confront historical challenges. Changes will be imposed on political and social institutions to make them capable of doing their part in settling the battle of destiny."

Dr Na'im: "At first, change in the economic situation will have an upsetting effect on social and political conditions in the Arab world. But then these effects will gradually begin to take a positive turn; they will ultimately stabilize; and a positive course will be followed."

Dr Jalal: "I would divide the Arabs into two groups: the oil group and the non-oil group. Economic development among the latter group of Arabs will proceed at a slow and gradual pace. But oil has its ups and downs: revenues rise sharply and then fall. Besides, there is talk in the Arab world about the leadership role that the private sector must play. It is my own private judgment that this sector cannot suddenly take on that role. Instead, there must be a period of transition during which the public sector's major role would be gradually eroded. Also, a formula must be found to provide the private sector with all the rights and privileges that are necessary to enable it to carry out its role with the full participation of existing institutions."

Dr al-Jihni: "The political situation derives its strength and its weakness from elements of strength and weakness in the nation. It is certain that economic progress is an element of strength and economic decline is an element of weakness."

Dr Masikah: "The economic situation is linked primarily with the political situation, and each one affects the other. Political stability provides the reasons for improving the economic situation, and the condition of the economy dictates that political leaders make decisions and plans that can improve the organization, support and development of the economy. If economic conditions get worse in any country and if the political authority fails to do something about them, the simultaneous effects of that on the economy, on the political

situation and on the situation in general would be negative. That is why in many countries of the world the assistance of economists is being sought. Economists are appointed to political leadership positions because the basic association between economics and politics is recognized. The common influence economists and politicians exercise on public life and on the country's future is recognized. That is why I am convinced that present political leaders in the Arab countries are being called upon to make significant and fundamental decisions on the economy. They are being asked to anticipate dangers that may be severe in the next few years, between now and the beginning of the 21st century."

Al-Sani': "Despite appearances, I expect that change in the Arab economic situation will be positive. This change will have a positive effect on the Arab political situation."

Yusuf: "Economics is the foundation for politics. Any progress that is made in the economy through cooperation, integration, coordination or merger, will in turn generate political conditions that will be favorable to the entire Arab homeland."

Dr al-Sa'idi: "There is no doubt that economic policy is affected by and affects the prevailing political ideology. It is sometimes difficult to separate the two. Democracy, for example, which is a political indicator, affects the management of economic activity in society. And the economy can have a negative or a positive effect on the political situation, but that depends on several factors."

Dr al-Safti: "The relationship between the political situation and the economic situation is interactive. No one denies the fact that the economy does have a negative or a positive effect on politics."

Dr Radi: "The Arabs are about to experience very important economic changes that serve the interests of Arab citizens. I expect these changes, which will force themselves on the political situation, to have a positive effect on the political situation by the beginning of the next century."

[22-28 Jan 86 pp 39-47]

[Text] A Cultural Potrait of the Arabs after the Year 2000

The cultural development one hopes Arabs will achieve is one of the basic elements of their development in all fields of activity. This is the kind of development that refines one's character and increases his ability to be creative, to contribute, to think in practical, realistic terms and to see matters in all shades of the color spectrum, not just in black and white. It was therefore natural for AL-MAJALLAH in this series of articles on the Arabs in the year 2000 to try to peer into the future to see what the Arabs' cultural condition is expected to be like. To do that AL-MAJALLAH surveyed 22 thinkers in different Arab countries.

The road to true refinement does not begin in Arab schools and universities, whose graduates are reported to be educated but not refined and cultivated



individuals. True refinement is rather the product of careful, in-depth reading. We raised the question that Arabs do not read in the sense that they do not engage habitually in careful, in-depth reading.

Most thinkers who took part in our survey believe that this phenomenon creates a real crisis for the future of the Arab nation, impeding its development and the real progress that is being anticipated. Some people believe that this crisis is not so much a crisis of Arab citizens as much as it is a crisis of Arab books.

Whether the subject of these books is meaningful or not, television and video devices have become serious competitors of books in the last few years. Watching television and video movies takes up much of the time that people used to devote to reading. If television continues to make progress and attract viewers, will books and reading continue to have a place by the end of this century? What is happening now in the age of advanced television in the West suggests that books and the reading habit are not likely to become extinct. However, television exercises more influence on people in Third World countries, particularly in those countries where illiteracy is widespread. Nevertheless, many of our thinkers think that books will not concede defeat or yield to television by the beginning of the 21st century as long programs to wipe out illiteracy in the Arab homeland continue to function.

But will illiteracy be completely wiped out from the Arab world by then? Will television no longer be for millions of Arabs who are illiterate the only window they have on the world? Most of our thinkers think that illiteracy will be virtually wiped out, but they also think that wiping it out completely would be impossible even in the most advanced societies. However, our thinkers fear that several factors may thwart this effort; if that happens, the Arab nation will stay as it is today. Some of the thinkers believed that funds spent on weapons could be used to wipe out illiteracy. Others thought that Arab regimes were quite content with their citizens' illiteracy because it spared them troubles and problems they do not need: people could start demanding their political rights. And there were some who believed that the problem of Arab illiteracy is the illiteracy of educated people and officials. One optimist, however, thought that as mandatory education becomes widespread in the Arab homeland, illiteracy will ultimately be wiped out as the generation of illiterate people dies out.

The charge that educated people were illiterate had to stir up some discussion about the role of universities and institutions of higher learning in educating generations of intellectuals. Many of our thinkers affirm that present university systems in the Arab homeland graduate people who have degrees. Our thinkers are calling for changes in the curricula of these universities and institutions because these curricula were written by government employees. Instead of adhering to specific texts, they are asking that more emphasis be placed on open discussion and debate. Others, however, reject the argument that Arab universities are barren institutions. They argue that producing intellectuals is not a function of the university. Others reject the role that universities are playing at the present time because what is required for the cultural awakening that is being sought is that emphasis be placed on producing more professionals than academics. There was almost total unanimity that by the year 2000 Arab universities will adopt what needs to be done for educational and cultural development.

Because it was hoping to come out with new ideas that could point the way for officials, thinkers, opinion leaders, writers and journalists, AL-MAJALLAH raised many other questions that have to do with the Arabs' culture in the future. We asked about the negative or positive effects that widespread education would have on life in Arab society. We asked what effects local dialects and the parochial character of Arabic literature will have on the future progress of culture. We asked about the progress of the press and the expatriate press, and we asked what effect that will have on cultural development. We asked many other questions, and we were not disappointed. The answers given by our thinkers were full of meaningful ideas; their reservations and expectations were well-considered; and their strong opinions were supported by arguments. Although these opinions differed from and contradicted each other, this survey was enriched by them.

1. [Question] Arabs are generally accused of not being readers; that is, they are not habitual readers. Do you expect this to change by the beginning of the 21st century?

Muhammad al-Ramihi, editor-in-chief of AL-'ARABI Magazine: "It would be difficult to say anything definite or definitive about whether or not Arabs would read more in the future than they do now. It would also be difficult to say that they would read more intelligently. I am speaking here of the average person.

"Intellectuals have many considerable doubts about that question, and I do not want to reinforce those doubts without being specific. The average Arab is not actually just a mathematical average. There are Arabs who can buy knowledge but who do not have as much desire to seek it. And there are Arabs who are seeking knowledge, but who do not have the means to acquire it. We have to draw a distinction between the two.

"The reading crisis is essentially a cultural crisis. But we have to distinguish between superficial reading and reading which enriches, stirs and changes one. It is actually this kind of reading where I sense there is a crisis. Moshe Dayan, Israel's former minister of war, is reported to have said that Arabs do not read. What he probably meant is that they do not read with scrutiny. It is this kind of reading that is the foundation of knowledge; it is the only way the civilization of the age can be fathomed. Although we significantly outnumber our enemy, we do not know as much about that enemy as much as he, or at least his specialists, knows about us. Consider how many centers for Hebrew studies we have and how many centers for Arab studies our enemy has!

"Consider how many centers for eastern and Arab studies there are in the West, and how many centers for western studies we have.

"In addition, many times we still define ourselves through them. It may be very significant that articles by western writers do appear even in our Arabic newspapers. In those articles writers analyze and express their views on our issues.

"What complicated this crisis even further is the fact that we are entering the technologically advanced media age--with television and video devices. Knowledge that can be easily acquired now takes up the time that is required for serious reading. If we were to add to that the fact that illiteracy is widespread and that cultural illiteracy exists among broad sectors of the population, then having a real sense of the proportions of the crisis will become possible.

"Regarding change in Arabs' reading habits, I would consider myself cautiously optimistic. The challenge that we are being made to face is forcing us to take the subject of reading seriously. No development and no progress could be achieved without learning and education. And serious reading is the only way to achieve both; it gives one the incentive to be creative and hence to make progress."

Fu'ad Matar, editor-in-chief of AL-TADAMUN Magazine: "Is it conceivable that a nation of people whose holy book enjoins them to '[Read] in the name of your Lord who created,...' [al-'Alaq: 1] would lose their interest in reading? I do not believe so. In fact, I do not accept the assertion that Arabs are not habitual readers. In some countries they are; in other countries they're not. In this regard the notion of doing something habitually differs from the classical interpretation of having a habit. The reading habit is one that Arabs with healthy minds and proper thoughts practice. Sectors of the population who do not practice the reading habit will one day regret the fact that they did not cultivate it, when they discover one day that video devices do not make up for words printed in books, magazines or newspapers."

Al-Tayyib Salih, a well-known novelist and director of UNESCO's regional office: "The number of educated people in the Arab homeland will increase, and illiteracy may disappear by the beginning of the 21st century. Therefore, I expect reading to become more popular despite the progress that will be made in the means of mass communications, like television. I expect great progress to be made in the printing and publishing business, and I expect improvements in the subject matter, the variety and the appearance of the material that will be available for reading."

Jamal al-Ghaytani, a well-known novelist and newspaper columnist: "I expect the present image about the Arab not being a reader to change as more people become educated and illiteracy disappears. I think reading will become more widespread. Arab governments must include in their programs ways to make books easily accessible to Arab readers."

Dr Muhammad al-Ahmad al-Rashid, general manager of the Gulf States' Arab Office of Education: "It makes no sense to generalize and to charge that all Arabs do not read. Whether or not Arabs read is something that depends on many factors, including emotional tranquillity, financial and economic stability and social security."

"When these factors become available, then a literary movement will flourish and the number of readers will grow. This is what happened in the administrations of al-Walid, al-Ma'mun, Sayf-al-Dawlah, al-Mu'izz Lidin Allah and the Umayyad kings in Andalusia."

"Based on current events and contemporary conditions, it is hoped that the aforementioned factors will become available by the onset of the next century. The Arab world is about to thrive and prosper scientifically and culturally. That progress will be based on economic stability, security and social stability, and its cultural character will be global. Many people will have been educated, and reading will become popular."

Husayn 'Arab, a well-known Saudi Arabian poet: "This was true in the past because of the shortcomings of cultural and educational institutions. Now, however, reading is not the only way one can get an education, even though it still is the most important one. Radio, television, motion pictures, cassettes and videos are elements of education. Some of these elements may have to do with education that is essential, and some may be purely recreational; but all of them are educational tools.

"If what is meant by education is a condition of being well-informed about public, cultural, political and economic matters, then the average Arab would have the advantage when compared to citizens of other nations, even Europeans and Americans. The Arab is well-informed about the affairs of the world. He does not know everything, but he knows enough. We've seen many people in other major cities of the world, including Europe and the United States, who do not understand anything about their public affairs. Some of these people were ordinary people, and some were educated."

Dr Nashi'ah al-Kutani, editor-in-chief of AL-GHIDHA' AL-'ARABI [Arab Food] Magazine: "I disagree with this generalization that Arabs do not read. I believe that democracy is the basis for creativity, and that includes literary creativity. Evidence for this lies in the fact that books became noticeably widespread in the fifties, but I do not expect the picture to improve."

Imtithal Juwaydi Matar, editor-in-chief of AL-RASHAQA [Elegance] Magazine: "I believe that the crisis has to do with the quality of what is being written and not with how many people read. Everyday I become more convinced that when we have reading material that is worthwhile, people will read. But it is normal that there be exceptions to that."

'Ali Salim, a playwright: "First of all, I would like to make it clear that European readers too do not read on a habitual basis, and there are many reasons for that. Let me say, however, that our Arab readers will not read or will not read on a habitual basis unless there is something worthwhile to read. At the present time we do not have reading material that is worthwhile, nor will we have it in the foreseeable future. Books themselves are faced with a severe crisis that has to do with publishing, printing and distribution."

Mohamed Banis, a Moroccan poet and critic: "I expect the image of an Arab who does not read will change, when we consider the period of time that was required by educational processes in the Arab world early in the modern age. I believe that by the end of this century and the beginning of the 21st century a significant percentage of Arab citizens will be able to read and write."

Sabri Musa, a well-known Egyptian novelist: "It is not proper to make such a generalization because the one Arab people is divided now into numerous peoples, and that division is due to the inclinations of those nations' leaders and kings. According to this division there are Arab countries where the reading habit has taken root and is growing. In those countries books are flourishing in spite of television and its directed or insipid programs.

"In socially closed Arab societies females make up a larger percentage of the reading public, and poetry is the subject that is read most often because it provides psychological compensation for feelings of oppression and frustration."

Dr Jihan Rushti, professor of information at Cairo University and at al-'Ayn University in the United Arab Emirates: "I have basic reservations about the assertion that Arabs do not read. I believe that Arabs would read if worthwhile reading material were really available to them."

'Ali al-Hadani, a well-known Moroccan poet and zajal author. [Translator's note: zajal is popular Arabic poetry that does not adhere to the rigid syntactical and metrical rules of classical Arabic poetry.] In his lengthy answer to the question Mr al-Hadani attempted--and he was right to do that--to affirm that the matter requires in-depth research so that an answer to an even more profound question can be found. That question is this: why did Arabs lose their characteristic ability to read in depth despite their creativity during the golden ages of the Arab, Islamic civilization? Not only did the Arabs read in those days, but they also read voraciously. They read everything that had to do with thought, culture and creativity in general. Today, however, they are spectators and consumers, and their ability to contribute has declined. Mr al-Hadani went on to say, "In this busy world of ours which is full of upheavals and fears Arabs are preoccupied with their search for material goods. They have allowed their souls to wander alone. Originally, then, Arabs were not non-readers; and although they used to employ their minds to read, now, they employ their senses only. That is why we now see people reading newspapers in coffee shops in front of the whole world, whereas in the past people would settle down in a secluded spot where they could read and reflect on what they were reading. I believe that the problem of going back to that climate has to do with many other problems and issues. It is even very difficult to know whether Arabs will stay in that stupor or wake up, correct their ways and develop a sense of responsibility about the very imminent approach of the 21st century."

Nur-al-Din al-Sayil, director of programming and production in Moroccan television: "I expect the image about Arabs not reading to change despite all the competition that reading has now. Technology has not helped promote reading as an activity in its own right, and that is basically related to the Arabs' cultural background. But I do think that this technology has also had positive effects. It will stir up the Arabs' interest in reading, and an interest in reading is the foundation of all culture."

"Few changes have been made during the past 10 years, and that is why, despite everything that may now be said, I expect interest in reading to become fundamental. This is not to say that reading will complement what television has to offer. But by the onset of the next century more people will be reading than there are now. A number of observations can prove that, but it is my impression that generally speaking, developments in reading will be positive."

Muhammad Bukharaz, Moroccan author and university professor: "I doubt the absolute accuracy of the assumption that Arabs do not read. It is my opinion that Arabs are consumers of culture that is passed around to them through channels other than reading. Arabs may read more than they do now if illiteracy is wiped out in 15 years and if the educational system is reconsidered and the freedom to read what one wants to read is guaranteed."

Ahmad 'Abd-al-Salam al-Baqali, a Moroccan novelist and poet: "The number of readers in the Arab world will grow in proportion to the decline in the number

of illiterate people. It will also grow in proportion to the rise in writing standards and standards for writers in all subjects. Reading or habitual reading is a cultural phenomenon. It is a manifestation of how high society has risen or how low it has fallen."

2. [Question] Will books have a place by the year 2000, in the age of advanced television?

Advanced television is a serious competitor to books. However, most of those who took part in our survey believe that books will not be defeated and will not yield their place to television by the year 2000. They believe that books will continue to hold their own even though they had different opinions about what that means.

Najib Mahfuz, well-known Egyptian novelist: "It is undeniable that television did reduce the number of readers in the Arab world. Nevertheless, the leading role of books must be preserved. I think that books as tools of communications are different: they have their own public and their own admirers. Although television did upset the market for books, books will continue to be held in high esteem."

Sulayman al-Farazli, well-known Arab journalist: "In my opinion, nothing can replace books or make up for them. Television is nothing more than a recreational medium with an educational side to it. In this sense it does take up part of people's time. There is no doubt that a significant portion of that time which is spent viewing television could have been spent in reading. But television can also promote reading: discussions of recently published books can be presented on the small screen. This is done with motion pictures and with plays. Then, if these discussions attract audiences, people will buy and read books. Television tends to reduce the number of books people read as well as the number of people who read, but it does not have a negative effect on the quality of reading material."

Jamal al-Ghaytani: "Books may appear to be in a poor position now because videos and television have a greater effect on people, especially in developing societies. However, as awareness grows and education becomes more widespread, I believe that television will be promoting books. In Europe, for example, when a book appears on a television program, sales of that book increase. Based on my personal experience I believe there is nothing more pleasurable than the pleasure of reading. I was shocked when I saw the movie, 'Crime and Punishment' because it failed to portray what the great Dostoevsky had tried to convey in his novel. Only very little of what the book conveys was communicated to me by the movie. To me, the same was true of 'Moby Dick'."

Dr Muhammad al-Ahmad al-Rashid: "Scholars and readers all over the world have television, but only certain kinds of people are preoccupied with watching it. Also, people watch television during certain periods of time, but they can have more time for reading. Many people may watch television because they would like to find out about a recent cultural event. Watching television is also an escape from certain momentary emotions that may eventually disappear. Television then becomes an educational tool, and watching it ceases to be a way to kill time."



Nur-al-Din al-Sayil: "The truth is that today, 15 years before the beginning of the next century, we notice that progress is being made in all kinds of television. This progress is expected to be normal. Even the borders between countries and continents will become almost ineffectual. But people may find many reasons to become fearful of this huge technological progress: they may have fears for the existence of books. But I do not have such fears because books have characteristics that television, motion pictures or modern technological developments cannot make up for. Books and television are two separate issues. The question of the advancement and development of books has very little to do with television. I see here no positive or negative relationship between the development of television and--if one may say so--the decline of books. There are other reasons for that. Let me affirm that books will continue to hold their own and to occupy a place of distinction."

Husayn 'Arab: "Books are the foundation or the backbone of culture. Television and other such media do not provide viewers the opportunity to think unhurriedly about the knowledge that is imparted. Viewers cannot retire with that knowledge to review it, contemplate it and gain a better understanding of it. There is no way we can do without books now or in the future. When one reads, one's eyes, ears and heart are involved in the process of reading, contemplating and benefiting from what has been read."

Jihan Rushti: "Books will most certainly have a place in the advanced age of television. Nothing else can take the place of books."

Muhammad Banis: "This question has become the object of worldwide concern; it is being hotly debated in all countries of the world. Although books will not hold the position they hold now, the age of books has not yet come to an end. We may need more than 50 years before we can say that the age of books has come to an end."

Imtithal Juwaydi Matar: "Before this matter can be resolved, we must become convinced that advanced television does have an effect on the Arab world. There is television, and there are many stations, but these stations are ones that are well-considered rather than advanced. At the same time, if we were to consider carefully how books are flourishing in the western world, where television is highly advanced and offers a variety of attractive programs, we would find there an affirmation of the fact that books do have in place and their status is not endangered."

'Ali al-Hadani: "This has to do with the value of a book. Every person yearns for something. (I am talking here about a yearning of the mind, not the stomach.) What does the mind yearn for under circumstances like those in which we are living today when material considerations have prevailed and dominated? Everyone is preoccupied with the pursuit of material goods. But this does not at all mean that we do not have in our homeland perceptive intellectuals."

"Today, books of value are rare because writing is guided and controlled. What is written today does not serve people. Instead, writing today has other aims which may sometimes be destructive rather than helpful to man. In general, most people will pursue a course of least resistance. Reading a book requires a certain amount of effort and hardship, but perusing visual programs requires

nothing more than pushing the 'on' button on a television set. One can then find desirable mental fare that is ready for effortless and painless consumption. This may be due to the fact that people are exhausted every day, and they find life difficult. As in all educational tools, quality in television--and in books as well--is important. Television programs have to be good so that what is presented can be considered comparable to visual reading. Frivolous material can be found in books or newspapers, and it can also be found in television or radio. By the same token it is also possible to find good and serious programs in all the media: radio, television and the printed press."

Dr Nashi'ah al-Kutani: "I am one of those who believe that books will always hold a primary place regardless of the age of advanced television. We think that the status of books here in the West has been the same despite the existence of different television channels. In fact, the value of books has increased. Books also have a special place in the world of mass communications. Suffice it to say that books are resources for people who do research and people who like to follow up on matters."

Muhammad Bukharaz: "I do not know why television is viewed as an enemy of reading. We have the power to use it as a tool to promote reading. It is true that over the next 15 years pictures will compete with the printed word, but what matters is that we know how to control the educational message that pictures convey so that they may complement or supplement the educational message conveyed by books."

'Ali Salim: "I think that books will hold their own in the presence of all other means of communications. This will prove day in and day out that books offer a special kind of fare: they have their own followers and fans, and there are no alternatives to them. The relationship between man and the printed word is an old and strong relationship that can be neither undermined nor negated."

Ahmad 'Abd-al-Salam al-Baqali: "The more progress television makes, the higher the status of books, particularly if books are discussed and promoted on television programs."

"Also, television cannot fill the place that books hold because of the material and moral benefits books afford readers. Books are portable and one can take them anywhere. One can easily go back and review the ideas mentioned in books; one may contemplate them, copy them or comment on them."

### 3. [Question] What will the Arabs be reading in the year 2000?

We had two thoughts in mind when we asked that question. Arabs will either read more about politics and related subjects because of their worries and their nation's suffering, or they will refrain from reading for the same reason. Most of our thinkers, however, did not agree with that view because people have different inclinations and tendencies. Some thinkers thought that people will be inclined to read literary works, but others thought people will be reading studies on science and politics.

Husayn 'Arab: "Arabs can learn as much as they want to learn, each according to his preferences and aptitudes. They can use different sources to learn about

sociology, economics, politics, poetry or other subjects, and they can do so in the manner that suits them best. Each one has his own special, God-given talent."

Muhammad al-Ahmad al-Rashid: "It is not realistic to determine what subject people will be reading. People have different dispositions, and those dispositions vary from time to time and from one place to another. People will have the desire to read different subjects, but they will choose different topics to read."

Jamal al-Ghaytani: "It would be difficult to say what people will be reading, but I think reading literature will be more widespread."

Muhammad Bukharaz: "Development of the notion of reading will necessary be followed by reconsidering our usual classifications of what constitutes culture: fiction, poetry, literary research, etc. I think that in the future people will turn their attention to reading everything that can help uncover the mysteries of nature, man and animals. This means that after 15 years, other countries in the Arab homeland will discover the importance of fiction, scientific research and political science."

Nur-al-Din al-Sayil: "I think that what readers will be interested in--given present conditions--will be what they have been interested in for over 20 centuries: fiction and poetry. In other words, readers will be interested in creative works. Although such creativity will be found elsewhere in television and motion pictures, it is creativity more than anything else that will be in demand."

'Ali Salim: "I think that our readers will be attracted to fiction, particularly love stories and detective mysteries. Fiction is easy to read, and it is enjoyable and entertaining."

'Abd-al-Salam al-Baqali: "Readers have different tastes and preferences. I believe there is a common denominator among readers of all classes and levels of education, and that common denominator is literature. That includes all kinds of fiction and narrative. Interest in the novel would be followed by interest in theoretical research. One will find among the upper classes people who are interested in all these subjects, but their interest varies according to the mood of the hour."

Najib Mahfuz: "I think the Arab reader will turn away from literature in coming years because television serials, movies and dramatic presentations present literature in a broader manner. I think that Arab readers will be attracted to books on special subjects, like psychology, philosophy and science. This is based on the fact that there is an acute shortage in this information; it is also based on the fact that television does not offer programs on these subjects."

'Ali al-Hadani: "It is not possible to expect readers to be inclined to favor one genre of writing over another. All genres must exist together because each genre has its fans and its interested public."

4. [Question] Will the role of institutions of higher learning change in the future, and will they produce intellectuals?

It's been said that graduates of Arab universities are educated but not refined and cultivated. Do our thinkers expect this picture to change? Those who answered that question had different opinions. Some of them affirmed the assumption made in the question and demanded change, but others denied that assumption, arguing that it is not the function of a university to produce intellectuals. Others rejected the role of universities as institutions that produce intellectuals, and they argued that we need more professionals than academics who can support the process of growth and progress.

Sabri Musa: "Not only is a large percentage of university graduates lacking in culture, but, unfortunately, they are also not educated. Our Arab world has the highest percentage of university graduates in the world. That is why we are industrially and economically backward because progress in all nations has been built on vocational and technical education. In coming years university education will become less attractive because the incomes of university graduates will have declined when compared with technicians' incomes. At that time university education will become serious, and graduates will be educated as well as cultivated."

Muhammad Bukharaz: "I do not think that the function of Arab universities will change in a radical way over the next 15 years. Universities may catch the development fever, but such a generalization would be inaccurate. This is something that is subject to a nation's wishes and not to the winds of change."

Al-Tayyib Salih: "I think there will be major change in the way university education is viewed. There will be greater balance between theory and application. And as the glitter of university degrees becomes less attractive, future generations may pursue more realistic endeavors."

Nur-al-Din al-Sayil: "Like graduates of all universities, graduates of Arab universities are educated individuals among whom there would be a certain group of intellectuals. I do not think that any university of standing in the world now specializes in producing intellectuals rather than educated people or vice versa."

"In most cases the only objective request that can be made of universities is that they produce educated people. It would then be up to an educated individual to establish himself as an intellectual or as an educated specialist in some field. It may be a serious distortion of the facts for a person to demand that universities produce exclusively intellectuals--given the fact that the notion of intellectual must be defined--or educated specialists. It would be difficult to meet that demand, and the difficulty stems from the fact that this is not so much a question for Arab universities as much as it is a pedagogical and an epistemological question that is of interest to all educational policies in the world, not only in the Arab world."

Dr Muhammad al-Ahmad al-Rashid: "What is being said about university graduates is partially true because in most cases education is still a quest for social position, a means to earn a living or a way to keep up with special conditions."

This is because it is only recently that most universities have devoted themselves to aspects of education that would meet the demand for educated people. After economic stability is achieved and the region has all the educated people it needs, universities will become cultural centers."

Muhammad Banis: "I do not expect the role of Arab universities to change because the systems that require this kind of orientation in education are not incidental. Consequently, it would be difficult to imagine that in 15 years research in institutions of learning would be conducted and they would become oriented to the production of learning. This is because expanding education, devoting interest to the eradication of illiteracy and establishing mid-level cadres in the Arab world would, in my opinion, make Arab educational policy put more emphasis on turning out cadres than on turning out scientific research and acquiring knowledge. That is why Arab know-how can produce, but it will not necessarily do so through Arab universities."

Ahmad 'Abd-al-Salam al-Baqali: "Universities never turn out intellectuals. An intellectual is someone who is self-made, and intellect is a talent that universities may develop. But universities must be satisfied with the task of sharpening students' minds. They must train students to perform a better role in society. The role that institutions of higher learning play will not change unless their perspective of what society should be like in the next 50 years changes."

Imtithal Juwaydi Matar: "The Arab world is going through a real development crisis. If I may say so, I hope there will be radical changes in university curricula during the years from now until we reach the year 2000--a year that could become the most important turning point in the field of technology. I hope these universities will put emphasis on craftsmen and technicians because the need for maintenance personnel will be greater and more pressing than the need for intellectuals."

'Ali Salim: "Arab universities are now turning out so-called degree holders. These degrees are just papers that graduates carry and place in their files when they seek employment in any government position. These degrees neither enlighten nor guide university graduates; such objectives go beyond those of our universities."

Dr Nashi'ah al-Kutani: "Universities turn out educated, not cultivated people. This is because university professors follow an academic curriculum that was put together by a group of employees whose task is to issue orders. Unless university professors and students have the freedom to research and debate, university education will be nothing more than university degrees without scientific background."

5. [Question] Will there be illiteracy among the Arabs by the year 2000?

Most of our thinkers thought that illiteracy will be virtually wiped out by the year 2000. However, most of them thought there were factors that could lead to failure; unless these factors are overcome, illiteracy among the Arabs will stay the same. But none of them thought that an end to illiteracy was inevitable. Despite the "illiteracy of educated people" and "the absence of a real desire to

wipe out illiteracy," the generation of illiterate people will die out, and by the end of the century illiteracy will be virtually wiped out because of current mandatory education.

Fu'ad Matar: "What is sad and almost tragic is the fact that illiteracy in our Arab homeland continues to spread. It is sad because what is needed to fight illiteracy and make it disappear is available. In fact, one tenth of what was spent on bombs, machinery and rockets for the war between Iraq and Iran, or the resources that were wasted in vain in the war in Lebanon could have been used to wipe out illiteracy. Such funds could have been used as adequate capital to open centers and schools that could have wiped out illiteracy in about 10 years."

'Ali al-Hadani: "If we have not been able to wipe out illiteracy in scores of centuries, I do not believe that we can wave a magic wand and wipe it out in 15 years! The situation may be alleviated, and we can do whatever we can to correct it, but I do not believe it will be possible to wipe out illiteracy altogether."

'Ali Salim: "I do not expect illiteracy to be wiped out in the near or distant future. Wiping out illiteracy requires those who are involved in that effort to believe in people's need to learn."

Dr Nashi'ah al-Kutani: "The goal of wiping out illiteracy is humanitarian and educational. If that goal is sought with sincerity, illiteracy will be wiped out in a record period of time. There are many examples in the world that affirm that fact. Efforts that were proposed to wipe out illiteracy in some Arab countries were aimed, unfortunately, at making one group of people, but not others, gain benefits. This humanitarian plan thus fell into a political battleground between conflicting parties. Unless people are sincere about accomplishing that goal, illiteracy in our midst will continue into the next century."

Imtithal Juwaydi Matar: "From now on, if we were to read in every ministerial statement that is issued that one Arab country or another prepared an ambitious program to wipe out illiteracy and allocated to that effort half the budget it allocates to the military budget for a period of 2 years, then there will be great hope that illiteracy will be wiped out from our Arab homeland."

Nur-al-Din al-Sayil: "It is simply an illusion to think that illiteracy can be totally wiped out. Something like that should be gauged to existing facts. What may now be seen in the Arab world is not conducive to optimism or pessimism. But the question anyway is not a matter of pessimism or optimism as much as it is a matter of scale. It may be somewhat hasty to say that illiteracy will be totally wiped out, just as it would be to say that illiteracy will grow and that more groups of people will become illiterate. Different policies in the Arab world are approaching this problem rationally, and they are doing as much as they can about it. This induces one to say that illiteracy will decline, particularly if the media do their duty and adopt a cultural and educational policy to help traditional literacy movements wipe out illiteracy. In this regard I am somewhat optimistic because what we are seeing in the Arab world today does in many respects give us cause to be optimistic."

Husayn 'Arab: "Considerable progress is being made in the effort to wipe out illiteracy in the Arab world. The problem, however, lies in the fact that



educated people are illiterate or are mentally illiterate. Agencies of the media must work together to wipe out illiteracy."

Ahmad 'Abd-al-Salam al-Baqali: "Illiteracy can be wiped out by a serious and concentrated program. However, those illiterates who read and write and who write books will continue to be an inescapable social phenomenon."

Sabri Musa: "Now that education in our Arab countries is mandatory, illiteracy will most certainly be wiped out as time goes by and as all Arabs who are illiterate die out."

Muhammad Bukharaz: "Relative change in fighting illiteracy may be achieved because of what schools are doing and because the old generation will die out. But I do not think it is possible to wipe out illiteracy altogether."

Al-Tayyib Salih: "I expect illiteracy to disappear completely by the beginning of the next century."

Dr Muhammad al-Ahmad al-Rashid: "The absolute eradication of illiteracy in any society is something that all nations seek, but it may be difficult to achieve. What is required is that as much illiteracy as possible be wiped out. The nature of life in the Arab world is such--with its inherited life styles of desert and rural environments--that wiping out illiteracy altogether would be difficult. In addition, there are material, social and innate circumstances that force one into illiteracy."

Najib Mahfuz: "I do not expect illiteracy to be brought to an end soon, but we are on our way to do that. Sooner or later illiteracy will be wiped out altogether from our land, and that day is not very far off."

Sulayman al-Farazli: "It would be natural for illiteracy to be wiped out before too long because mandatory education and schools have become widespread in all Arab countries without exception. There are Arab countries that have special programs and campaigns to fight illiteracy and wipe it out. Results of these programs and campaigns have been good. The effort to wipe out illiteracy must become the foundation upon which in-depth understanding of the sciences and the arts can be built and spread. This is what happened in Japan in the past century. By 1905 when Japan defeated Czarist Russia there was not a single illiterate person in Japan. At the same time most of Russia's population was illiterate and living in the darkness of ignorance. What is called today the Japanese economic miracle is the result of that historic effort which made it easy for the Japanese not only to acquire scientific and technological development from abroad, but also to understand it, develop it, build on it and adjust it in accordance with their world and their characteristics."

6. [Question] What is the future of colloquial dialects in Arabic literature?

While some think that colloquial Arabic dialects will widen the gap between Arab cultures because of the broad differences between them, others see them as a resource that could enrich and vitalize classical Arabic. Many, however, think that modern methods of communications and the media will help evolve what a Moroccan author called "a third language." That is a highly simplified form of classical Arabic to facilitate communications and conversation among Arabs.

Husayn 'Arab: "Parochial spoken dialects are on their way to becoming extinct because communications, broadcasts, newspapers and magazines are pervasive. However, I do not expect the Arabic language to become totally dominant. Along with Arabic, a language common to the Arabic languages will be spoken. This is normal because educational standards differ from one country to another."

Dr Jihan Rushti: "The role of colloquial dialects in Arabic literature will decline because if Arab countries want to get closer together, they will have to reduce their reliance on local dialects, and they will have to expand their use of the simplified Arabic language. Also the pervasiveness of the media and their increased capabilities will undoubtedly increase the use of a classical Arabic that can be understood all over the homeland."

Sulayman al-Farazli: "New calls have been made in some Arab countries, especially in Lebanon, for adopting the spoken language as the written language. Some people tried to write the spoken dialect, but that attempt was not successful at all, and people did not accept it. However, the failure of this attempt does not mean that there is no crisis in this regard. It would be logical if classical Arabic, which is used in writing, were to evolve in a manner whereby it could incorporate and improve upon the colloquial dialects which have many beautiful and rich expressions. It is my opinion that the press has a principal role in this process of blending, incorporating, and improving because it is addressed to the public. It is a fact that the Arab press has actually contributed to the simplification of the written language without violating its classical rules in general."

'Ali al-Hadani: "It seems to me that all colloquial languages are like little girls that have left their mother's home--which is classical Arabic--to experience life in different circles. I think that they are bound to return to their source and their real home--the mother language. Arabic is the one and only hope we have for uniting all those that have been torn apart in our divided homeland."

Fu'ad Matar: "I personally respect all dialects, but I think that merely calling for a role for these dialects constitutes some kind of effort to instigate division within Arab ranks. Let each of us speak his own dialect, but let's take into account the fact that those who do not speak their own dialect cannot speak the dialect of others [as published]. Let each of us speak his own dialect, but let's preserve the sanctity of the mother tongue, the language of the Koran, the language that unites us all."

Muhammad Bukharaz: "I believe that a classical Arabic which can be changed will become the common language in the Arab homeland. This is logical. It is possible that dialects will be used in Arabic literature for literary and esthetic reasons, but such usage will be required by the creative experience and by requirements for eloquence. I also believe that dialects will be subjected to linguistic change, but that does not rule out the continued existence of popular cultures in the Arab homeland."

Al-Tayyib Salih: "I expect there will be greater interest in colloquial dialects because they are a rich resource for literature and the arts; but I do not expect that to affect the position of classical Arabic. Quite the contrary, I expect interest in the dialects to revitalize and enrich classical Arabic."

Muhammad Banis: "I believe that the role of the colloquial language will flourish significantly. During the 20th century we lived through a stage of ethnicity: there was a virtual outbreak of ethnicity. Now we are living through an outbreak of ethnic and circumscribed culture. That is why I believe that, despite pressure from the western media model, which in the final analysis is an American model, popular culture in general will have its place in the Arab world. That model is now dominating the whole world, not just Europe."

Dr Muhammad al-Ahmad al-Rashid: "Colloquial dialects represent a social stage that was dominated by the colloquial language and by illiteracy. These dialects depict the history of the social and intellectual aspects of a certain stage. A scholar may need such information to study a certain heritage or to find out about a specific case. As education becomes widespread, folk literature will decline, but it will not disappear because illiteracy will not be totally wiped out. As long as there is illiteracy, there will always be a need to express the feelings of the illiterate. The Arab world is living through a period of open cooperation and Arab awareness, and the push for Arabic literature written in classical Arabic is getting greater and bigger."

'Ali Salim: "I would like to affirm that local or colloquial dialects have no place in Arabic literature. Motion pictures, video movies and the theater are the only places where the colloquial can be used. That colloquial language should be a superior version that is refined to a degree that brings it very close to classical Arabic. Long term use of this language will not make it strange to Arab ears, and speakers will become accustomed to it."

Ahmad 'Abd-al-Salam al-Baqali: "The role of colloquial Arabic dialects will decline as education, the press and other media agencies become widespread. As the educational standard of Arab peoples rise, the standard of the language they use in conversation will also rise to what is now called 'a third language.' This is the language that Arabs would use to address each other when they meet at a conference or in a foreign country."

Nur-al-Din al-Sayil: "Colloquial Arabic dialects will flourish, and they will develop in a very significant way. These dialects will have a positive effect on Arabic. In fact, I consider myself an advocate of dealing gradually with colloquial Arabic dialects, which are basically related to the mother tongue, that is, classical Arabic. This would be done to enrich classical Arabic from its own resources. This is a fundamental matter in the Arab world. Arabic literature can thus have its principal source of support: its association with a specific background. We do know that the beauty and resonance of literature which is internationally recognized as the work of genius can only be the product of very personal experiences, and not the reverse."

Dr Nashi'ah al-Kutani: "I believe that the colloquial language spoken in each country is the principal foundation of contemporary Arabic literature. Barriers imposed by international variables will increase parochial sentiments in each country."

7. [Question] What about education and Arab society by the year 2000?

The spread of education in the Arab homeland will not necessarily have a positive effect on Arab society unless that education has been considered and unless its aim is to refine the Arab's character, broaden his horizons and turn him into a cultivated person.

Al-Tayyib Salih: "I believe that the spread of education will solve some problems, but it will create others. In general, however, major social change could result from the spread of education."

Husayn 'Arab: "The spread of education will undoubtedly have a positive effect on Arab society. An educated society that has freedom and democracy will find its way to a better life. However, that freedom must be guarded by morals and circumscribed by divine precepts."

Ahmad 'Abd-al-Salam al-Baqali: "The spread of a backward kind of education which is not planned intelligently and with foresight will have a negative effect on society. It will create an army of unemployed and poorly adjusted people who, instead of helping society, will become a burden on it."

"Education which is attentive, takes the nation's needs into account, and plans to train men to take care of those needs will have a positive effect on society. An educated person will do honest work even if he is assigned to a profession considered to be of little significance."

Dr Muhammad al-Ahmad al-Rashid: "It is certain that education and the spread of education affect society. But this is a broad subject with many sides to it. We may summarize the most important effects of education in the following:

- "Society's view of the universe and of life is changed.
- "Social relations become streamlined in a scientific manner.
- "The means of earning a living and life develop.
- "Society abandons many erroneous customs and notions.
- "Modern, scientific, intellectual values develop.
- "Society's view of the world becomes realistic.
- "An atmosphere that expands society's horizons to the outside world and banishes local fanaticism from society prevails.
- "Universal human principles grow.
- "Opportunities to establish a worldwide civilization become available.
- "Lifestyles become more complicated, venturing further toward the unknown; simple methods of doing business and living will disappear."

Muhammad Banis: "It is not possible to give an unequivocal answer to a question about the effect that the spread of education will have on life in Arab society

because the spread of education does not mean spreading progressive awareness among people. The number of educated people is not the only standard that defines the kind of education offered in a society and the direction to which that society is headed. I do believe, however, that regardless of our reservations in answering this question Arabs will devote more attention to domestic issues and to their relationship with the world."

Fu'ad Matar: "Let's consider societies where illiteracy has been virtually [wiped out], and let's consider British society, French society, or Rumanian society--as an example of the other side of the world, that is, communist societies. Let's ask ourselves then this question: isn't life in those societies the result of science and knowledge? Doesn't the well-known adage about he who opens a school closes down a prison say enough? Prison here refers to ignorance, not to a physical building with walls and jailers."

'Ali al-Hadani: "If the education that is provided is proper, its effect will be genuine and absolute, but if it's education for its own sake or for getting a position, then its effect will be more negative than positive."

Muhammad Bukharaz: "Education is a moral, political, economic and social process, and its effect in all these areas is quantitative and qualitative. It would be enough if education were to show citizens of a society or a nation the ways by means of which they can avoid wasting their energies in the aforementioned areas."

8. [Question] Do you expect a specific influential cultural center to emerge in the Arab homeland by the year 2000?

Most of our thinkers do not expect a specific, influential cultural center to emerge in the Arab homeland and overshadow others. Instead, they expect several of these centers to emerge, and each one will specialize in different activities. Some thought that these centers will be developed under the auspices of advanced universities. However, the most that some of our thinkers fear is that, because of the lack of intellectual freedom in the Arab homeland, an influential Arab cultural center will be developed in countries outside the Arab homeland where Arabs have settled.

Al-Tayyib Salih: "Egypt will continue to be a principal cultural beacon in the Arab homeland. But in addition to Egypt and to principal, traditionally influential centers of culture in the Arab homeland, such as Beirut, Damascus and Baghdad, I expect several centers to emerge in other capitals of the Arab homeland. And these may become stiff competition for traditional centers of culture."

Dr Muhammad al-Ahmad al-Rashid: "There is an abundance of influential cultural centers in the Arab homeland, such as universities and numerous cultural organizations like literary clubs, linguistic academies, publishing firms and others. Elements for the success and outstanding status of such centers are available. We have the scientists, the mental aptitudes and the material resources. We also have the devices in question, such as printing presses and other devices. However, it is Arab universities that will continue to be the most important beacons of culture for a long period of time."

Husayn 'Arab: "At the present time I do not expect a specific influential cultural center to emerge. However, if political and economic conditions become stable--political conditions in particular--before the end of the century, there will be more than one influential center in the Arab world."

Sulayman al-Farazli: "It is not necessary that there be a specific influential center; there may be more than one inside one country. Throughout its ancient and recent history the Arab homeland's beacons of culture have shifted. Before Islam Yemen was a cultural center. When Islam emerged, it was al-Hijaz, where the influence of Islam became widespread. Al-Hijaz continued to be an influential center until the creation of the Umayyad state in Damascus. Then Baghdad became an influential center until it was conquered by the Moguls. Then it was Cairo's turn. In the modern age Egypt and Lebanon emerged as influential, cultural centers because of their independence from Ottoman domination. These two countries are still functioning in that capacity despite the impact of Israel's aggression on both. But there are promising locations in Morocco and Iraq where the creative arts have achieved a universal standard. That is why I think there will be numerous and at the same time specialized influential, cultural centers. Music will flourish here; poetry will flourish there; painting over there; and elsewhere scientific development."

Jamal al-Ghaytani: "Arabic culture is a whole whose parts complement each other. If someone today were to ask me what was the nationality of Abu-al-'Ala' al-Ma'arri, al-Mutanabbi or al-Buhturi, I would not be able to give him an answer. During the Middle Ages an Arab intellectual who was born in Andalusia, would study in Fes, al-Zaytunah, al-Azhar and in the Umayyad Mosque, and he would live in the vicinity of Mecca. Thus, there are several cultural centers in the Arab world that complement each other."

Ahmad 'Abd-al-Salam al-Baqali: "Influential centers of culture follow 'a minor cultural cycle' within a nation. In the past we saw how influential centers of culture moved and shifted with the caliphate. That remained the case until the caliphate moved to Turkey. The cultural center then moved to Andalusia.

"In the present century an influential cultural center began in Egypt and Lebanon; it is now moving to the Arab Maghreb. There are early signs that a cultural center is being developed in Saudi Arabia.

"We can say that this influential beacon of culture has now shifted and moved from the well-known Arab countries to 'an Arab state without a government, without territory, without a flag and without an army.' That 'state' is the country in which a large number of Arab intellectuals chose to settle after fleeing to the West in search of freedom."

Imtithal Juwaydi Matar: "If the situation in the Arab world remains unchanged and if writers and people with opinions continue to suffer as they do now, I expect that influential cultural center to emerge outside the homeland. I expect it to emerge in Britain and in France. I will be very happy if my fears turn out to be unfounded."

Najib Mahfuz: "It is unlikely that a new center will emerge. I think that the center which will dominate literary life will be the earliest one that achieved



civilization and progress. Egypt is eminently qualified for that. But Egypt's dominance will not be confined to Egyptian territory. There are many Egyptians who are creative throughout the Arab homeland."

Muhammad Bukharaz: "An influential cultural center cannot emerge unless it is founded under the auspices of a university, any university. This is provided that Arab universities follow in the footsteps of European and western universities and benefit from the mistakes they made. But this is something that is not expected to happen except in a climate of total freedom for scientific research. Also, the university has to be linked with new and evolving circumstances."

'Ali Salim: "If we can expect a specific influential cultural center to emerge in the Arab world, that center will have to be in Cairo. There is no way it can emerge anywhere else."

Nur-al-Din al-Sayil: "The Arab homeland as a whole will become a major influential cultural center. During certain historical periods in the past, the Arab world was an influential cultural center. But changing events and historical developments changed that. I think that the Arab world will now define for itself a special position of cultural influence. Within the Arab world, however, I expect the Arab Maghreb to become one of the world's most outstanding Arab centers of culture."

Muhammad al-Ramihi: "I believe that we are witnessing today a multiplicity of cultural centers. The relative weight of these numerous centers will differ in proportion to the differences of their active elements. There are such centers in Cairo, Rabat, Beirut and Kuwait, to mention only a few. The influence of these centers, as we mentioned, differs in proportion to the positive influence effected by the kind and magnitude of cultural creativity generated in them by such elements as the people's clout, their historical experience, the margin of democracy that is available, financial resources, etc."

9. [Question] Will Arabic literature become universal by the year 2000?

Our question about whether Arabic literature will become universal raised a serious question about what the universality of literature means. Does it mean raising the standard of human creativity in our literary works so they can break through borders and barriers? Does it mean that Arabic literary works become available in translation on the bookshelves of western libraries? In both cases most of our thinkers who answered that question believe that ancient as well as modern Arabic literature is universal. However, there are barriers today that are impeding its circulation. The most important of these barriers are Zionist control over the media in the West and the West's traditional hostility to Islam.

Sulayman al-Farazli: "Arabic literature is primarily universal in its scope because it represents an entire civilization that expresses itself in a universal language whose universality is derived from the dialectic between it and Islam, the religion whose message came to the world in Arabic. In all past ages of history Arabic literature had a concrete effect on the literatures and languages of other peoples. But if what is intended by the universality of Arabic

literature is the availability of contemporary Arabic literature in other languages, an effort in that regard has begun in a rather timid way. I think there are two principal reasons impeding the dissemination of Arabic literature in translation. One of these reasons is political, and explaining it would require a great deal of time. The other reason is artistic and has to do with the scarcity of respectable, reliable translations."

Husayn 'Arab: "Arabic literature was universal in the past, and it is universal now. In the past when the Arabs ruled Asia, Africa and part of Europe, Arabic was a universal language. And now the only thing that is missing in the universality of Arabic literature is action to expand the means of disseminating that literature. Individuals cannot do that; they must receive assistance from authorized agencies."

Dr Muhammad al-Ahmad al-Rashid: "Before answering that question we must first define the universality of literature. It seems to us that Arabic literature has the humanitarian quality that makes it universal. Many Arabic literary works from the past have been translated into many of the world's languages, and many of these works became sources for universal literary works. In the present age many Arabic works of literature were translated into the different languages of the world."

Dr Jihan Rushti: "Arabic literature may become universal if translation activity is stimulated and if competent translators become available. Some Arabic literary works, such as the works of Tawfiq al-Hakim and Yusuf Idris, have in fact become universal."

Muhammad Banis: "Some genres of Arabic literature and some original Arabic works are now considered universal. However, reaching those channels that lead to recognizing Arabic literature as universal is something else."

"I am distinguishing here between what is accomplished and our relationship with others, or how others view us. In Arabic poetry, for example, there are poetic works whose originality and creativity are superior to the universal standard. There are also some valuable and notable experiments in fiction."

"In my mind this is something that has to do with knowledge. This means that an Arab literary author needs to become more conversant with human creativity and with his own creativity. But I also think it has something to do with the reasons that brought about this situation in the world."

"As we know, the universality of literature will be recognized. Not only will the text itself and its special characteristics contribute to such recognition, but also many elements outside the text will have an effect on whether or not a particular literary work will become universal. Chief among these elements are translation, distribution, etc."

Jamal al-Ghaytani: "Yes, Arab creativity will become universal in its scope. I believe that in the next 20 years the Arabic novel will become universal. But we must not associate universality with the publication of our novels in Europe and America only. We must instead set our sights on the whole world. But we must

also not become preoccupied with the idea of universality. There are more than 200 million persons in the Arab world, and when more people acquire the reading habit and a respectable Arab prize is established, I believe that an Arab literary writer can rely totally on his Arab public and position himself in the world through his Arab public."

Nur-al-Din al-Sayil: "Arabic literature has now in fact achieved the status of universality, but it still lacks a few publicity channels and tools to prove that. In other words, the question that should be raised is whether this expansion in the scope of Arabic literature will become consolidated with confidence and faith. I think the scope of Arabic literature will be expanded significantly, and that expansion will be measured against the world's ignorance of this literature. There is now an existing tendency to find out more about this literature, and there is also considerable improvement in the standard of Arabic literature. That is why I think that by the beginning of the 21st century Arabic literature will become universal, and its scope will be very broad."

Muhammad al-Ramihi: "I believe that the creativity of contemporary and modern Arabic literature is comparable to that of literature which is considered universal. The only thing keeping us away from [recognition of] this universal status is an anti-Islamic, racist attitude similar to anti-Semitism. I hope that we will document this in our press and in the studies we conduct. The moral conscience of the West has not yet forgiven us as Muslims and Arabs, not since the Crusades that were fought against us. I reached this conclusion after much thought and deliberation; there is much political, social and cultural evidence of that, and anyone with an incisive mind can see it. Our Arabic literature has been translated into numerous languages, and it has been warmly received by the public, by critics and by peoples who are not anti-Islamic, such as the countries of eastern Europe."

'Ali al-Hadani: "It is very possible for our literature to achieve universal status if it can portray our worries, our concerns and our aspirations truthfully. Our literature can achieve universal status if it accurately portrays our feelings about our own existence in a developing world approaching the 21st century."

Sabri Musa: "Arabic literature is now being read in many more languages than we can imagine, and much attention is being devoted to its translation. The problem, however, lies in the fact that this effort is being done by individuals. Cultural government institutions do not become involved in that effort in an earnest way despite the importance of our cultural presence in the minds of other peoples whose minds are poisoned by biased propaganda against the Arabs."

Imtithal Juwaydi Matar: "It is extremely regrettable that Arab oil has become universal but that Arabic literature has so far failed to achieve that status. The only exception to that is a handful of translations of novels and the written works of some authors of fiction, poetry and their students who lived and wrote before Islam and during the early days of Islam as well. Can we expect a surprise in the intervening years from now until the year 2000? God only knows!

Dr Nashi'ah al-Kutani: "Freedom of thought is the cornerstone of a literary writer's creativity. Since this freedom is restricted in the Arab homeland, what an Arab literary author can do is also restricted. And this makes him isolated in his parochial sphere."

Muhammad Bukharaz: "Regarding individual creativity an Arab literary author may achieve universal status. Over the next 15 years, however, Arabic literature will generally remain captive to many of its present restrictions."

'Ali Salim: "I can affirm that some of our literary works in Arabic have achieved universal status."

Najib Mahfuz: "To me the universality of a work of art means it is more valuable. When the value of a specific literary work rises, it becomes a universal work regardless of the language in which it is written. The issue of translation and the Arabic language is a question of form, and it is not a problem. The problem for us is to find and offer the world literary works of superior value. We have such literary works, and the whole world will know about them soon."

Ahmad 'Abd-al-Salam al-Baqali: "The notion of universality is still mysterious to us. To some people the universality of a book means that it is read by Arabs as well as non-Arabs. To others, a universal book is one that has achieved a standard equal to that of western literature. I believe that the universality of literature embodies both concepts. Translation would make an Arabic literary work accessible in other languages, and quality [would be measured] by the degree of enjoyment a person's mind and intellect derive from reading that work."

"It seems to me that literature will be the fastest rising aspect of civilization because its rise and improvement may not depend on the general standard of the country. It would be enough for one author to produce an excellent literary work that could be translated into any language without losing its original flavor in the process."

"There is, however, a significant obstacle impeding the effort to make Arabic literature accessible to westerners. Zionist capital monopolizes the publishing business."

10. [Question] What about Arab journalists and the Arab press by the year 2000?

How were the standards, independence and objectivity of the Arab press and Arab journalists viewed by our thinkers? Did they think we would have pan-Arab newspapers, that is, newspapers that have no regional identity and that are sold simultaneously all over the Arab homeland? Did they think we might see the return of expatriate journalism?

Most of our thinkers think that the future of the Arab press is closely tied to existing political conditions at a given time. The future of the Arab press depends on the availability of democracy and intellectual freedom. The absence of these elements is one of the reasons why newspapers emigrated. Unless Arab political conditions change, the expatriate press, which has had positive as

well as negative consequences, will continue to operate in those countries where it has found refuge.

Some of our thinkers believe and even hope that pan-Arab newspapers will be published. But at the present time numerous obstacles and regional, ideological and political barriers are impeding that.

Sulayman al-Farazli: "The press is not an entity that is independent from society. It is ultimately the embodiment of the society it serves. At the same time, its position of leadership stems from the direct influence it has on the public's state of mind. That is why the press has a special role as a catalyst between the reality it reflects and the reality that is expected and hoped for. It is my personal judgment that the more specific the Arab press becomes, the more committed to objectivity it will become. This in turn would strengthen its independence as a tool that shows what is happening in society, not its independence from society. The independence of the press from its society may force it into total alienation, and perhaps, even hostility toward its own society. That is why I expect the Arab press to make significant progress in the foreseeable future after a period of turbulence.

"As far as the expatriate press is concerned, there were reasons why the Arab press left its home. When these reasons cease to exist, there will no longer be any justification for this press to stay abroad. At the present time, however, the problem has gone beyond that of being a problem of the press emigrating. Large groups of Arab citizens are emigrating, and there are now millions of Arab emigrants. The expatriate press is thus obliged to address itself to those emigrants and to deal with them, and that reduces the possibility of its return, particularly since the Arab countries' governments, peoples and institutions want to maintain relations as well as communications with those expatriates. It is my opinion that the positive effects of the emigration of the press have outweighed the negative effects. The Arab expatriate press has been influenced by the high standards of the world press, and its standards have become extremely high. At the same time it is likely to become attached to its new environment in a manner that will effectively separate it from the Arab environment. It will thus become a western export to the East instead of a tool for communicating and interacting with Arabs.

"It would be logical for Arab newspapers to pursue a pan-Arab course so they can be sold simultaneously all over the Arab homeland. Arab newspapers can do that even as they preserve their regional characteristics, which in this case would enrich them. They would thus be able to bring those characteristics closer together in a context where they would coexist in consonance rather than dissonance."

Fu'ad Matar: "Before we ask about the future of the Arab press and about its independence, objectivity and characteristics, we should ask ourselves this: what is our view of the future of the Arab world? The future of this press is a very simple part of the unknown future of the Arab world. If one were to project a picture of the Arab world from now until the year 2000, then the future of the Arab press will become clearer. As we wait for that future, or rather miracle, what we say about future prospects will hardly be free of exaggerations. In fact, there will be very little realism in what we say until we receive further notice. Projecting a view of the Arab press--and this is not a failure of planning--is not a projection of its future. It is rather a projection of the

present day world of the press. This is the condition of the press when it faces such circumstances like those it is facing in times that are quite unfavorable.

"I dream of a pan-Arab newspaper. I dream that one day before I retire, after having served the press for many years where I started at the bottom and came up through the ranks, I will see the day when 15 or fewer Arab publishers will get together and decide to publish one magazine to which each of them would contribute funds and skills. I hope to see them publish a magazine that will preserve the minimum and be content with it. I hope it will serve to illustrate Imam 'Ali's memorable saying that 'Anyone who receives a blessing and does not give thanks for it will lose that blessing and will not be able to enjoy it.'"

"I dream of a pan-Arab magazine in every sense of the word. I am dreaming of a magazine rather than a newspaper because a daily newspaper's life span is but a few hours, but that of a magazine may be as long as a few days.

"Will that dream materialize? It's been 15 years since I had that dream. I had that dream for 15 out of the 27 years I have so far spent working in the press.

"I am one of those people who believe in what the poet says: 'How restrictive life would be without hope'!"

Nashi'ah al-Kutani: "Despite technological progress in the Arab press editorials in Arabic newspapers have waned and weakened noticeably. There are no longer any editorials like those which used to bring about the downfall of a cabinet. Independence and objectivity in the contemporary Arab press have become things of the past, something to talk about in our offices. The expatriate press has had negative as well as positive effects. It has had a negative effect because it took away many writers of note. But it also has had a positive effect because it is giving the local press an incentive as well as a creative model to follow."

Imtithal Juwaydi Matar: "Just as birds migrate, the press leaves its home; and just as migrating birds return to their grounds, Arab journalists will also return to their homes when the conditions that compelled them to emigrate cease to exist. The word expatriate in itself implies a temporary condition. But as far as the positive or negative effect which the alienation of the press has had on its standards, I believe that the alienation of the press has made its technical standards get the better of its national and pan-Arab content. This may be due, perhaps, to the fact that feelings of patriotism and nationalism in the Arab world are going through a crisis and experiencing alienation. We pray day and night for this crisis to be over."

Dr Jihan Rushti: "The future of the press is linked with the political regime in a state. I expect the professional characteristics of the press to advance, but I do not expect the expatriate press to return. There is no doubt that there is a large number of Arabs in western countries. Those Arabs need an Arab press. Furthermore, these newspapers are being published under conditions of greater freedom. Thus, they provide an alternative to newspapers that may be found in Arab countries.

"It is difficult to imagine that pan-Arab newspapers will be published. It is, nevertheless, possible if these newspapers have sufficient intelligence to overlook political disputes between the different Arab countries."



Al-Tayyib Salih: "The condition of the press will depend on what the future brings the Arab homeland. It is most likely, whatever that future is, that the printed press will face strong competition from other means of communication: radio and television. But with the expectation that people will become more involved, the influence of the printed press will grow, and the number of newspapers published outside principal centers may grow. As circumstances which led to the publication of Arabic newspapers outside the Arab homeland change, one expects some of these expatriate newspapers and magazines to return to the Arab homeland. Some of them may disappear, but others may stay where they are to comply with basic demands that will not change as circumstances change.

"I think that newspapers with a pan-Arab character will appear, but there will also be newspapers that will be extremely parochial."

Husayn 'Arab: "The Arab press mirrors Arab social and political conditions. If these are good in any given country, then the press in that country will be good, stable and methodical."

Sabri Musa: "Competence and efficiency standards in the Arab press and among Arab journalists are not inferior to competence and efficiency standards in the worldwide press. But the real problem with the Arab press lies in its independence. The Arab press is owned by divided countries and tendencies that oppose each other. Arab journalists are employed by these countries, and they are obligated to observe these conflicts. When Arab public opinion is united behind the principal pan-Arab issues of liberation and development, there will be a pan-Arab press that will be sold all over the Arab homeland. At that time there will be Arab journalists whose standards will be comparable to those of world journalists."

'Ali Salim: "In general, the Arab press has colorful publications that are very well executed. These publications are loyal to their funding agencies, but not to their readers. That situation has not changed."

Nur-al-Din al-Sayil: "The Arab press is not independent at all. This means that, like the rest of the press in the world, the Arab press does not live in a tower. It influences its environment and is influenced by it. What has been noticed is that the issue of the independence of the press in the Arab world has changed in a curious manner. The Arab press is making progress, and its coverage of subjects is vigorous; it now covers a wide variety of subjects. That is why if we were to compare the condition of the press today with what it was 40 years ago, we would find that it has changed in a curious way. In this regard we must be cautious when, for example, we compare the press in the United States of America with the Arab press. Each society has its own characteristics. If we start with the facts, we will have to notice the development that has taken place and the constant effort that's being made to make the Arab press more independent and more objective. With regard to the expatriate press I do not expect anything, nor do I see any justification for its return to the Arab homeland, but that is neither here nor there. What matters is that there is a significant expatriate Arab press written and published in Arabic in London, New York or Paris. Why then shouldn't we expect the Arab world to produce the kind of press that could compete with the expatriate press, which, over all and in

general, performs its function quite well? This press can compete with other newspapers and magazines inside the Arab homeland. What matters is that it carry out its mission regardless of its immediate geographical affiliation."

Jamal al-Ghaytani: "The future of the Arab press is linked with the question of freedom. Present conditions invite one to become pessimistic because most of the press is not independent. I do not expect the expatriate press to return to the Arab homeland in the near future as long as there are disputes between Arab regimes and as long as dangers threaten that press. The problem, however, lies in the fact that the expatriate press is an extension of conditions in the Arab press, and those models that can achieve a measure of independence and freedom of speech are very limited.

"Being in a foreign country has had a positive effect on the expatriate press with regard to printing standards. The proximity of that expatriate press to the centers of international events has given it somewhat of an opportunity to report on these events. At the same time, however, it removed it from the center of Arab events for whose sake it is being published. Thus, in its coverage of Arab events it relies on correspondents or articles written by others. I do not expect pan-Arab newspapers to be published."

Muhammad Bukharaz: "The future of the Arab press is linked with its present, and that fact is not conducive to excessive optimism. In the context of a balanced sense of optimism, I imagine that it would be possible to adorn the Arab press with some measure of independence, objectivity and distinguishing characteristics. These qualities in the absolute sense are not available even in the western press to which we compare ours."

Dr Muhammad al-Ahmad al-Rashid: "Arabic newspapers are undoubtedly subject to prevailing Arab ideas at a given point in time. The social and intellectual future of the Arab world will change in accordance with numerous standards. These standards have to do with a sense of purpose and with the social, political, economic and cultural situation.

"Because of its special religious, geographic, economic and political conditions and situations the Arab homeland is fertile ground for many skills, cadres and qualifications. The absolute return of the expatriate press to the Arab homeland is not expected, but there is no doubt that the expatriate press helped make the Arab press flourish and contributed to the growth of Arab thought. However, the culture that comes to us through that press has often been tainted with colors that are alien to Arab reality. And yet the expatriate press has introduced to us many universal ideas and cultures, and it has enriched the Arabic language with modern words and expressions. However, it has had a negative effect in that it borrowed and used some western words. Now, usage of these words has become widespread in Arab society. Some western expressions and ideas recur frequently in this press which [also introduced] tendencies that are rejected by Arab reality and Arab traditions."

Najib Mahfuz: "The press cannot thrive unless democracy thrives. If the latter thrives, the former also thrives. I think that we are turning, albeit ever so slowly, toward democracy, and that will inevitably lead to the appearance of a strong and respectable press.

"I am optimistic about the future of our national press. I think we will have a strong national press. But that will depend on the kind of political and intellectual leaders we have."

[The following segment is an interview with Dr 'Ali Muhammad Fakhru, minister of education in Bahrain.]

[Question] Arabs in general do not read; that is, they are not habitual readers. Do you expect this to change?

[Answer] With the advent of television and video devices a reading crisis developed all over the world; the Arab world is part of that world. If we were to add to that observation the fact that illiteracy in the Arab world is as high as 70 percent, then the picture over the next 15 years is not an optimistic one.

[Question] Will books still have a place in an age of advanced television?

[Answer] Books have a place now, and they will have one in the future. Books will have a place as long as man exists. There is a big difference between television and books. One has more freedom of choice with books, and one interacts more with them and benefits more from them than television.

[Question] If you expect Arabs to change and to become habitual readers, what do you think their reading preferences will be? Will they prefer fiction, literary research, science fiction, studies in political science, sociology, economics, poetry or a mixture of the above?

[Answer] So far Arabs have been reading about literary and political issues. They ought to add to that fare studies about scientific and technological subjects because these subjects are extremely important in steering the course of life in this and the next century.

[Question] Do you expect Arabic literature to achieve universal status?

[Answer] When the Arab nation is united and when it has its position in the world, Arabic literature will achieve universal status almost spontaneously.

[Question] Do you expect a specific influential cultural center to emerge in the Arab homeland?

[Answer] I expect several influential cultural centers to emerge in the Arab homeland.

[Question] Will illiteracy be totally wiped out in the Arab homeland?

[Answer] If we continue to rely on current methods, if efforts to eradicate illiteracy remain confined to governments, and if we do not utilize all of society's capabilities to wipe out illiteracy, then we will continue to have illiteracy in the Arab homeland, not only till the end of this century, but also till the end of the next.

[Question] How will education affect life in society?

[Answer] All the progress that could come about in the future and all the fundamental changes that could come about in Arab society can only materialize through education.

[Question] It is being said that because of what Arab universities are doing now, their graduates are educated but not learned and cultivated. Do you expect the role of universities and institutions of higher learning in the Arab homeland to change? If so, how will that role change?

[Answer] There are objective conditions that would have to be met to enable universities and institutions of higher learning to produce learned and cultivated people. Universities and institutions must have academic independence, and they must not be thrust into the personal political conflicts that are eating away at Arab society. Therefore, if the political and social aspects of the situation in the Arab homeland remain unchanged, Arab universities will not succeed in their efforts to produce anything but people who have an education.

[Question] What is your view of the role that colloquial Arabic dialects will play in Arabic literature? Will their use decline or flourish?

[Answer] I believe that usage of colloquial Arabic dialects will decline over the coming years because usage of classical Arabic is closely linked with how widespread education is and how much illiteracy has been eradicated.

[Question] Arabic literature in general tends to be parochial. Do you expect that to change?

[Answer] At the present time some Arabic literature tends to be parochial, and that is because of the severe fragmentation of the Arab homeland and because of the dominance of the parochial tendency in the seventies and eighties. But I believe the winds of pan-Arabism will blow in the very near future, and I believe they will influence the directions of Arabic literature. This pan-Arabism will make Arabic literature become all inclusive. Arabic literature will not rely exclusively on its parochial tendencies.

[Question] What do you think the future of the Arab press will be like regarding its independence, objectivity and characteristics?

[Answer] At the present time the Arab press is not independent; therefore, it cannot be objective. The future independence of the press will depend on changes in society and on the construction of strong institutions in Arab society.

[Question] Do you expect the expatriate press to return to the Arab homeland? What effect do you think the expatriation of the press has had on its standards? Has that effect been negative or positive?

[Answer] This is a highly complex subject. The expatriate press will return when current poor conditions in the Arab homeland change. Regarding what I think about the effect the expatriation of the press has had at the present time, I believe that some of these effects have been negative and some have been

positive. Some segments of this press sold out, and they are no longer different from any local press. But some of them have taken advantage of the freedom that exists in the countries to which they immigrated. Those segments of the press became more objective and more capable of providing journalistic and intellectual analyses.

[Question] Do you expect there will be pan-Arab newspapers, that is, newspapers that have no identification with any specific Arab country and are sold simultaneously all over the Arab homeland?

[Answer] That will depend on changes in all the Arab homeland.

[Question] What is your vision of the future for the Arab journalist?

[Answer] I think he will be a person who is committed to his country's issues. I think he will think independently and will fight for the freedom to do his work. I think he will stay away from the endless bickering that exists in the Arab press, and I think he will be able to die for what he believes in.

[Question] Arabic has become one of the official languages at the United Nations. Do you expect more foreigners will want to learn Arabic? If so, what effect do you think that will have on Arabic becoming a universal language?

[Answer] Interest in any national language is related to the importance of the nation where that language is spoken. In its current position of weakness the Arab nation does not encourage anyone to study its language. There are only limited economic reasons for studying Arabic.

Consequently, if the Arabs want the world to become interested in their national language, they will have to move into a stage of major cultural progress. That stage would include among other things national unity, construction of the Arabs' cultural institutions, the sovereignty of law over Arab territory, and efforts to rid Arabs of poverty, ignorance and feelings of inferiority.

[29 Jan-4 Feb 86 pp 54-60]

[Text] "The Arabs in the Year 2000" is the subject of a survey conducted by AL-MAJALLAH on Arab conditions by the end of the present century, the 20th, and the beginning of the next, the 21st century. In its comprehensive survey on political, economic, military, cultural and social conditions in the Arab world AL-MAJALLAH asked more than 80 Arab thinkers who are directly involved in these matters a group of questions. The result of that survey was an extensive report that was published in installments, the first one of which dealt with the political and military situation. This was followed by an installment on the economic situation and another on the cultural situation. Today, we are concluding these installments with a discussion on scientific, health and social conditions.

The questions that AL-MAJALLAH asked a select group of Arab scientists, intellectuals and physicians dealt with scientific and medical conditions in the Arab homeland. It was the magazine's aim to draw a picture based on present facts of what science will be like in the future. The answers, which embodied the

thoughts of our homeland's intellectuals, scientists and physicians, differed from each other and demonstrated various degrees of optimism or pessimism. These answers, which showed what Arab intellectuals, scientists and physicians wanted for this country and for its future, were an attempt to envision what science and medicine will be like by the beginning of the next century. Our intellectuals, scientists and physicians talked about existing facts, and they went on from there to talk about scientific prospects for tomorrow. They talked about what we hope to accomplish and strive to achieve in the area of science, and they talked about problems that we might face and how they might be solved or alleviated. But regardless of the image that has been projected, what emerged from these answers were common points which can be considered the scientific foundations for a promising awakening and an advanced scientific future. The most salient of these are:

--Arab scientific efforts have to be unified and coordinated.

--Arab scientific expertise has to be integrated with the world's scientific expertise.

--Material and scientific resources have to be harnessed to advance this homeland and prepare it to face the challenges that await it.

--Finally, emphasis has to be placed on the young generation. They have to be properly educated; an inclination for science and research has to be instilled into them; and an awareness about scientific and health matters has to be promoted in their midst.

[Question] Will Arabs have their atomic bomb by the beginning of the next century? Which countries are likely to have that bomb by manufacturing it themselves?

Dr Muhammad 'Abduh Yamani: "I do not believe the Arabs will be able to build a nuclear bomb by the beginning of the next century. I hope we're talking about something more than just owning a nuclear bomb or contemplating owning one. What is more important in my opinion is developing the basic cadres that can benefit from nuclear energy and harness it to serve the cause of scientific progress and the future that we are hoping for and thinking about. Such scientific progress is something that we, as an Arab nation with fundamental goals, aspire to achieve. This nation should strive to achieve those goals; its thoughts and capabilities should not be restricted to the mere desire of acquiring a nuclear bomb or even taking part in building one. This is because in my opinion this is not so much a question of destroying Israel as much as it is one of building up the Arab nation. That in itself would be more destructive to Israel than merely throwing an atomic bomb on it. On that basis I cannot determine which Arab countries will own a nuclear bomb or will contribute to building it."

Dr 'Ali Muhammad Fakhru, Bahrain's minister of education: "If the Arabs' present fragmentation persists, if they continue to lose their effective social and political institutions, if they continue to be economically subordinate, and if they continue to make no serious attempts to become self-reliant, it is not likely that they will be able to build a nuclear bomb; in fact, that may be



altogether impossible. And given the growing power of world Zionism in occupied Palestine, building a nuclear bomb becomes even more impossible."

Dr Salim Khamis, a university professor and UN expert: "We must first distinguish between two matters: the capability of building an atomic bomb and the purpose of making one. As far as the capability is concerned, Egypt, Iraq, and perhaps other countries too, can build a nuclear bomb: they may be able to do that before the next century. However, this bomb will be a weak one compared to what the advanced countries have now, and these countries are competing with each other in the nuclear arms race. But regarding the purpose of building such a bomb, it is hard to imagine what benefit Arab countries could gain by owning, building or deploying such weapons. Therefore, it is my hope that Arab countries will concentrate their efforts on the objective which is supported by all the nations of the world, namely that of utilizing Arab resources and wealth in projects whose aim is to raise the Arab people's standard of living."

Dr 'Imad al-Zakir, a Saudi physician: "Yes, the Arabs will have their nuclear bomb by the beginning of the next century. I think the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Egypt are the likely candidates. My opinion is based on the scientific progress which the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been making and which has been the object of western countries' admiration. But as far as Iraq is concerned, we've known that Iraq did enter the nuclear age when it built the nuclear reactor which Israel later destroyed. Egypt undoubtedly has an extensive body of research on this subject, and Egypt has also had scientific progress for a long time. Scientific research conducted by Egyptian scientists is also known worldwide."

Dr Ishaq Nusaybah, a surgeon in London: "I do not believe the Arabs will build a nuclear bomb, not because they lack the ability to build one but because of Israel, which is playing the role of a trustworthy policeman for the superpowers. Israel's function is to stop any Arab progress or strike a blow against it. This is what actually happened when Israel destroyed Iraq's nuclear reactor a few years ago while it was still under construction."

Dr Hisham Hasan, internal medicine specialist at Cromwell Hospital in London: "This is not likely to happen by the beginning of the next century, but it would be possible by the middle of the century. Libya and Iraq are the likely candidates; they may be able to build a nuclear bomb, but this will depend to a great degree on the superpowers' attitudes on nuclear weapons and the possibility of entering into new treaties to limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons."

Dr Ahmad 'Ali al-Habishi, dean of the College of Science, San'a' University: "It is possible for Arabs to own a nuclear bomb by the beginning of the next century, particularly if the Arab countries work together and coordinate their activities. Human resources for building a nuclear bomb can be found in many Arab countries like Egypt and Iraq. If strong reactors become available, it will be possible to produce the plutonium which is used in building nuclear bombs."

Dr Khalil Muhammad Fadil, fellow at the Royal College of Psychology in London: "I believe that by the beginning of the next century Arabs will have their nuclear bomb. Arabs will have the bomb simply because they need it for their security. The Arab nation's enemies, chief among whom is Israel, are lying in

wait for it. The Arabs have an excellent select group of nuclear scientists, but some of them were killed by Israel, like Dr al-Mashad, who was assassinated in Paris. The countries that are likely to acquire a nuclear bomb by building one themselves are Egypt and Iraq."

Dr Sufyan Yusuf al-'Alami, London: "I do not believe the Arabs will have an atomic bomb by the beginning of the next century because western and eastern colonialists and their foremost ally in the area, Israel, will not allow that to happen. Arab countries will be prevented indirectly from acquiring the necessary materials and technology, or they will be prevented directly, as when 'Israel's air force was used to strike Iraq's nuclear reactor'."

Dr Aminah Murad, London: "There is no doubt that Arabs, like other nations, can build a nuclear bomb. Iraq had already started on that course, and it was that which induced the West and Israel to strike down Iraq's nuclear reactor while it was still in its early stages. I would personally prefer it if we were to concentrate our efforts on utilizing nuclear energy for reconstruction and not for destruction."

[Question] Now that the Arab world has seen the first Arab astronaut travel in space, will we also see space ships manned by Arabs traveling in space by the middle of the next century? Will these space ships be designed and built by Arab scientists?

Dr 'Ali Muhammad Fakhru: "It is not impossible scientifically or technologically to launch Arab space ships. But the problem lies in the organizational aspects of preparing for such an endeavor and in the absence of a collective will to undertake it. And that implies that no political decision has been made in that regard. The exploration of space is no different from setting out to explore any of the complicated scientific and technological fields. Both are closely related to a major, sweeping cultural advancement that involves radical and fundamental changes in the makeup of social, economic and institutional relations in Arab society."

Dr Salim Khamis: "It is not unlikely that manned space vehicles will be built in one or more Arab country by the turn of the century. But this would be done with the cooperation of foreign scientists. Arab countries will also lack the ability to send those vehicles into orbit without the cooperation of one of the international agencies that specialize in this field. I do hope, however, that Arabs will devote their efforts to make themselves self-sufficient and to meet those needs that are most important to programs for economic development. For example, we need airplanes, trains, automobiles, ships and their requirements. Priority should be given to these means of transportation and what is required for them; Arab countries are still backward in these vital areas. It is also difficult to imagine Arabs making progress in building space ships before making the progress that is required in ordinary means of transportation."

Muhammad 'Abduh Yamani: "Let me express my doubts about the fact that the period which lies ahead will be enough to develop our ability to build space ships. Building space ships is not just a manufacturing process, but it is rather an integrated process of manufacturing and planning that requires a large, integrated working team of astronomers, geologists and all other

scientists. Building a space ship is not in itself a goal; it is rather a means to achieve specific goals. Space ships are basically built in the context of scientific programs and plans that were made to meet certain objectives. Therefore, I hope our thoughts will not be limited to launching space ships because the issue is much greater than that. This is a question of building a scientific foundation that would enable us to place our feet on the right road so that, eventually, we can compete, adopt proper scientific bases and make effective contributions to the development of space science.

"Our contributions in the past, thank God, were honorable. This was when we had observatories in Toledo, Samarqand and Baghdad. At that time the western world was still puzzled and bewildered by these questions, and westerners expressed their astonishment at those Arab and Muslim scientists who were studying the stars and space when the West still lacked the ability to think about the firmament. Scientists in that field emerged among the Arabs and Muslims, but I cannot list all of them in this hurried response. These were men like Abu al-Hasan al-Haytham and other scientists. Some of the stars and constellations they observed are still known by their Arabic names, such as Vega, Altair, Sirius, al-Ghul, Ursa Major, Ursa Minor, the Milky Way, the galaxies, Gemini, Canopus and other constellations. They also discovered the nadir and the azimuth. Everyone knows that research into space became widespread during al-Ma'mun's reign, and everyone also knows the rich and enriching contributions that were made by our scientists like, for example, Abu-al-Hasan 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Hasan al-Razi, whose achievements in that area are numerous. Abu al-Hasan al-Razi alone observed more than 1,000 stars and wrote well-known books on the stars, such as "Al-Kawakib al-Thabitah" [Fixed Stars], "Al-Tadhkirah" [Memory] and "Matarih al-Ish'a'at" [The Places of Radiation]. In summary, the Arabs played major roles in this regard, but this was when we used to look at the matter on a scientific basis. We used to look at matters from an integrated scientific perspective instead of seeing them merely as a matter of launching a space ship or taking part in purchasing a space program. It is true that it is our duty to contribute to purposeful space programs and to take part in developing them, but that does not mean that building a space ship is an end in itself. Nor does it mean that our thoughts in the next age should be limited to that objective."

Dr 'Imad al-Zakir: "And why shouldn't we see manned Arab space ships in space? Space scientists who took part in building space ships, like Faruq al-Baz, can build them and launch them. And the scientific team that accompanied His Highness Prince Sultan ibn Sultan on his journey to the United States is not beyond our reach. That team, which played a major part in setting the directions that were taken in space, will undoubtedly become extremely important in consolidating the Arabs' foothold in space. Relying on the experience it gained, the team will prepare Arabs to embark upon the task of building space ships."

Dr Khalil Fadil: "I do not believe that we will see manned Arab space ships by the beginning of the century because Arab efforts in that regard have been dissipated and lost. Most Arab scientists are working for western agencies, and most scientific space programs are American."

Dr Sufyan al-'Alami: "Seeing the first Arab astronaut go into space was undoubtedly a sight that every sincere Arab feels proud about and cherishes. But

I believe that designing, building and launching a space ship are matters that require much more knowledge and time than the Arabs can give by the beginning of the next century."

Dr Ishaq Nusaybah: "I expect space ships to become something ordinary in the near future, and I do not think it unlikely that they will be within the reach of different countries in the world. These space ships will be like cars; they will be built in certain countries and sold all over the world."

Dr Aminah Murad: "Other Arab astronauts may be able to go into space, but I doubt that Arab countries will be able to design and build a space ship."

Dr Hisham Hasan: "I expect Arabs to participate more in space research, and I expect an Arab space ship to be launched into space, but this will be done with assistance from Europeans."

[Question] If research centers in the Arab world become strengthened, is it possible for the Arabs to participate in a practical sense in the development of an alternative energy source to oil? Will they develop solar energy, for example? Will they develop nuclear energy from the uranium resources that can be found in the phosphates which are also available in abundance in some Arab countries?

Dr 'Ali Muhammad Fakhru: "Yes, if this development in scientific research that is hoped for does take place, the Arabs can make an active contribution to the development of an alternative source of energy. Fairly good research is being conducted on solar energy in countries like the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia or Kuwait, but these research efforts will continue to be extremely limited if, as I mentioned previously, organizational and social problems are not solved so that scientific research can be allowed to contribute to society's development. The development of nuclear energy has to do with the answer to the first question. In all cases Arabs more than others are being called upon to attempt to develop an alternative to oil before the oil age in our country ends. If the oil age ends before we have an alternative to oil, everything that was built during the past two decades will be turned upside down. Cities will turn into ghost towns, and all progress that was made in this area, albeit limited, will end. That is why finding an alternative to oil is a matter of life or death for the Arab homeland, and especially for the Gulf area."

Dr Muhammad 'Abduh Yamani: "First, alternatives to oil are no longer a secret. The West is conducting extensive studies in this area to free itself from the grip the oil exporting countries have on it. The West also wishes to find alternative sources of fuel. That is why many universities in the world are interested in the problem of studying alternatives to oil. Unfortunately, this subject is not given appropriate attention in Arab universities, and some universities do not know much about it. We hope that Arab universities and research centers will work alongside other countries and international research centers to study that subject because the subject of alternatives to oil is of interest to us, particularly since we do have an abundance of these alternative sources, such as solar energy and radioactive deposits that are necessary for nuclear energy. If we were to use these resources well, they would enrich us and save us much money. Therefore, we have to focus our attention on alternative

sources of energy, and we have to support scientific research in that subject in anticipation of possibilities and future eventualities."

Dr Salim Khamis: "There is nothing in theory or in practice to keep Arab scientists from participating in the development of alternative sources of energy. However, we must not focus exclusively on solar energy because it is available in our country. There are other sources that are more important such as fissionable nuclear energy, which most likely will become one of the most important sources of energy by the beginning of the next century. That is why we have to concentrate our attention on research and methods that could lead to the use of nuclear energy as a source of energy. On the other hand, I believe that Arab scientists will contribute in theory and in practice to the development of other sources of non-nuclear energy, such as solar energy, wind power, sea waves, geo-thermal heat and other sources of energy."

Dr Ahmad al-Habishi: "It has become a matter of vital necessity to the Arab countries to utilize the solar energy that God gave us an abundant supply of and the nuclear raw materials we have. But this will not come about through the singlehanded efforts of one Arab country, but rather through common effort and well-considered planning. As a source of energy, solar energy at the present time is still costly when compared with oil. However, it can be used in homes to heat water, for example, and that could save about 30 percent of residential electricity use. The cost of using solar energy to generate electricity is expected to decline as a result of the research that is being done in the world. However, construction of nuclear power plants to generate electricity costs more than using oil to generate energy. Despite fears about accidents and the dangers of radiation, at least 32 countries are now using nuclear energy to generate electricity. It is known that uranium ore can be found in abundance in some countries of the Arab world. It is also known that many Arab countries have phosphate ores which contain a large ratio of uranium oxide, a substance that can be extracted while phosphates are being processed."

Dr 'Imad al-Zakir: "It would be natural for the Arabs to make an active contribution to the development of an alternative to oil. Research done by the Arabs in this regard must keep pace with the research that is being done in the West because the next age is the age of technology, and oil will not last for many years. At the same time the Arabs will not accept lagging behind in the scientific progress which is prevailing in the world today, particularly since their countries are very rich in other sources of energy and valuable materials."

Dr Sufyan al-'Alami: "It is very possible for the Arabs to contribute to the development of an alternative to oil. Evidence for this lies in the fact that solar energy is now being used to provide lights for an entire village in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Also good progress is being made in the effort to use nuclear energy for peaceful and medical purposes."

Dr Hisham Hasan: "Yes, I believe the Arabs will make a serious contribution to the establishment and development of new sources of energy. Their contributions will be in the form of international research in that area, particularly in the area of solar energy."

Dr Aminah Murad: "Arab scientists may be able to develop nuclear energy or any other alternative source of energy."

[Question] It is known that Israel's agricultural research is very advanced. Israel is exporting this research to African countries and to Third World countries. Do you believe that Arabs will be able to catch up with Israel by the turn of the century, particularly since a large area of the Arab world is farm land?

Dr Fathi 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestinian Red Crescent and assistant secretary general of the Arab Physicians' Union: "I disagree completely with that opinion which holds that Israel is quite superior to the Arab world in agriculture. What we have here is quite simply a large and rich 'green house' whose proprietors receive billions of dollars and the necessary expertise from the United States. In addition, Palestine was originally an area of note in agriculture. It has water, fertile soil and a climate suitable for farming. It is worth noting here that some Arab countries have numerous experimental farms which are affiliated with institutes of agriculture and agricultural research centers. These farms produce crops whose quality and quantity are superior to what Israel produces. The problem here lies in how these model experiments are evaluated and disseminated. Accordingly, I can say that if we, as Arabs, succeed in organizing our scientific, human and geographical resources, this so-called 'Israeli superiority' in agriculture or in any other field will be a thing of the past by the beginning of the next century."

Faysal al-Sani', member of Kuwait's parliament: "I expect progress to be made in the Arab homeland's agriculture and agricultural production by the beginning of the next century. This is because of dam construction and land reclamation projects which are being implemented or planned."

Agricultural Engineer 'Abd-al-Rahman Salam, general manager of the Agricultural Research Organization in the Ministry of Agriculture, San'a': "There is no doubt that Israel is advanced not only in its agricultural research but also in its application of modern agricultural technology. It would be difficult to compare ourselves with Israel because the standpoints from which the comparison would be made are different. Israel has access to all the means of modern western technology in agricultural research and application. In addition, its location in the area makes it incumbent upon Israel to join European and American efforts and to dedicate all its own resources and expertise to excel and surpass the Arab countries so as to prove that it is the best country in the region and that its existence is inevitable and essential."

"So much for Israel. Let's go back to the question, which asked whether the Arabs could catch up with Israel by the beginning of the next century, especially since a vast area of the map of the Arab world is made up of farm land. I believe the Arabs have competent scientists who can conduct research in agriculture. Although this expertise varies from one country to another, the upshot of all this is that Arab experts do a lot of research much of which, however, never reaches the farms, even though that is the principal objective of conducting the research. There are several interrelated reasons for this, some of which may be the weakness of guidance agencies, the lack of relationship between guidance and research agencies, the unavailability of modern resources and means of production, and so on."



"All indicators show, however, that in recent years each Arab country was taking a serious look at developing its local agricultural sector. That in itself is a good sign, but returns from that effort will be better if a collective effort in that regard is made throughout the Arab world. Some Arab countries have the capital, and others have land, water and competent experts. If one were to look at the Arab countries collectively, as your question suggested, by referring to the map of the Arab homeland, one would actually find there were vast areas capable of feeding the Arab world. In fact, these areas could guarantee a food security strategy for scores of years to come."

Muhammad 'Abduh Yamani: "Actually, the experiences gained by Israel are due to its ability to attract many of the world's scientists. Many Jewish scientists moved to Israel, bringing to that country their experiences and their expertise. We can do something similar and attract Muslim scientists as well as Arab citizens who are now living in the United States, in Europe and in other countries of the world. We have to make it possible for them to return to their homelands. We have to ensure for them the proper climate in which they can contribute. We have to provide them with resources, comfort and stability. We will then be able to conduct research not only in agriculture, but also in the different areas of knowledge. In addition to making it possible for those scientists who emigrated to return, we have to teach our children to love scientific inquiry. Our universities must not be merely institutions that inculcate students with information and stuff their minds with it. This requires that we make changes in our curricula. In view of what we have now I am optimistic because, thank God, we are making swift progress and we are going in the right direction."

Dr Sa'ud al-Fayiz: "I do not have enough information in that regard. However, what the Ministry of Agriculture in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has experienced in that regard affirms that Arabs can achieve superiority in agriculture."

Dr Khalil Fadil: "Some Arab countries have actually started exporting their agricultural resources: Iraq and Tunisia, for example, are exporting their dried dates. Egypt is also exporting canned fruits and vegetables to western and African countries. However, Israel is still very advanced in that regard because it has the ability to establish good trade relations and it can also package its products in an attractive manner. Wasn't there a report that Israel entered an international food competition in which it served the popular Egyptian dish, ta'miyah, or falafil and introduced it as an Israeli dish? Egypt did not even participate in that competition!"

Dr Ishaq Nusaybah: "During the second half of the 20th century the Arab world focused on industry and gave secondary place to agriculture. That is why we find a fertile agricultural country like Sudan turning into desert and suffering from famine. That is why officials in the Arab world ought to give agriculture their attention. If they do, Arab farmers will be able to keep up with Israeli farmers. Any Arab citizen ought to be pleased that Saudi Arabia has been able to produce enough wheat and barley to meet its annual needs of these crops despite the fact that the soil in Palestine is fertile whereas the soil in Saudi Arabia is not."

Dr 'Imad al-Zakir: "It is regrettable that we Arabs lack confidence in ourselves and feel that we are not suitable for scientific work. But this is actually not

true especially after Arab governments changed their attitudes toward Arab scientists and researchers and started offering them support and assistance to encourage them to carry out their scientific research. A clear example of that can be seen in the large amounts of assistance offered by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to support any scientific research in agriculture or any other discipline. The Ministry of Agriculture in Saudi Arabia offers every support possible to Saudi agricultural researchers and engineers. It is that which led to the advancement of Saudi Arabian agriculture and created a splendid agricultural awakening. Today, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia produces all the wheat it needs, and it can now export part of the wheat it produces. Therefore, it was not astonishing to see Saudi Arabia assist Sudan by offering it wheat. This example affirms that when intentions are sincere and when there is a will, everything is possible. As Arabs, thank God, we lack for nothing."

Dr Aminah Murad: "Yes, Israel is advanced in agriculture and in industry, and catching up with it would be difficult unless the Arabs forget their differences and work closely together in scientific, industrial and agricultural areas."

Dr Hisham Hasan: "Among the shortcomings of the Arabs' oil wealth has been their reliance on the economic resources of oil. The Arabs neglected and failed to utilize vast areas of agricultural land. Since oil prices are falling, I expect several Arab countries to make serious efforts to develop agriculture. There is considerable hope that Arab countries will take the lead in this regard."

Dr 'Abduh Shata, former director of the Desert Institute in Egypt: "We have to produce our own bread and our food ourselves. We have water in our Arab homeland, but it is not adequately utilized. We need 'good management' so that we can use traditional or non-traditional methods to cultivate the desert. The turn of the 21st century lies ahead, and we must adjust to what will become economically available by the year 2000. Some countries, like Saudi Arabia and Libya have been able to cultivate their valleys. That is why we are being called upon to plan for the long-term future now: we are to take into consideration the areas of arable land, the availability of water and the tremendous supply of ground water reserves."

Dr Muhammad Mahmud Husni, dean of the Environmental Research Institute and professor of plant protection at 'Ayn Shams University: "There are five kinds of agricultural land, and that includes fertile soil and soil that is unsuitable for farming. What is required is that appropriate technological means be used for each kind of soil. Some countries, for example, have been able to cultivate the desert through technology. Saudi Arabia has been able to utilize technology and cultivate wheat. Kuwait cultivated and harvested grains and tomatoes instead of importing them."

Dr Sufyan al-'Alami: "I see no reason why Arab agricultural research should not be equal to Israeli agricultural research or rather superior to it. As I said before, we do not lack the competence, the expertise or the materials. All this is available to us, thank God."

[Question] Cancer is a savage monster that has ravaged both young and old. Modern scientific research tells us that the causes of cancer are almost limited to the food we eat, to our heredity, the surrounding environment, the nature of

the work we do, and stress. Do you think that by the year 2000 there will be a comprehensive Arab view or that joint Arab research will have resulted in comprehensive programs that could put an end to this vicious disease?

'Ali Muhammad Fakhru: "A great deal of research on cancer is being done in the world. There is evidence to suggest that cancer has many causes, not just one. Consequently, each cause must be looked into separately. The fact is that avoiding many of the well-known causes of cancer as well as early detection can reduce the number of cancer victims in any society by no less than 50 percent. Some of the well-known causes of cancer are easily avoidable, like smoking. We can fight environmental pollution, and we can avoid using many chemicals in our food. We can do this without political decrees or decisions from society. Early detection, however, depends on the existence of primary health care facilities everywhere. Such facilities would be well used by physicians and patients. Early detection also depends on the presence of reasonable health education in society, and that too is possible through health awareness programs which could be strengthened through educational curricula, on the one hand, and through the various media, on the other. But I doubt there will be an Arab response to this malignant disease because other countries have made more progress in research in that field than Arab society. Therefore, if Arabs wish to contribute to that effort, they just have to supplement the efforts that are being made in other advanced societies, and they should work with those countries to solve this human problem."

Faysal al-Sani': "I think that by the year 2000 the Arab homeland will become more developed and its development will be more significant than it is today. Therefore, anti-cancer research and programs will also be more developed and more effective."

Dr Fathi 'Arafat: "There are several specialized associations now, including one for cancer, that are affiliated with the Arab Physicians' Union. It is my opinion that Arab unity is the hope we have for all aspects of our lives. And that includes unity in medicine, which is considered the only solution for progress in the field of fighting cancer in particular and in all the other branches of medicine in general. This is because scientific medical research, especially in the area of cancer, requires tremendous material resources. Suitable research conditions also need to be made available, and that can only be done by coordinating Arab medical efforts and unifying the different Arab research centers that are interested in cancer into one center. This would guarantee that efforts will not be wasted, and it would ensure that a basic rule in science methodology will be achieved: knowledge will accumulate. In addition, expertise would be shared and efforts would be joined. If all this is done, it is expected that noticeable success will be achieved in fighting and curbing this disease."

Dr 'Imad al-Zakir: "The causes of cancer mentioned in the question have a significant effect on how one kind of cancer becomes widespread in a certain environment and not in another. In my own practice as a gynecologist and obstetrician I've noticed that cervical cancer, for example, occurs with much less frequency in Arab society than it does in western European society. Sexual promiscuity in western societies is one of the principal reasons for that."

Another reason is that males are not circumcised. In our society there are also fewer instances of cancer in the uterus and in the breast than there are in western societies. And among the principal reasons for that is that Arab wives have many children. They also have their children early in life, and they nurse their children. These reasons reduce the possibility for this kind of cancer. The highest rate of occurrences of stomach cancer can be found in Japan because of what the Japanese people eat.

"I expect Arab universities to continue their research and their efforts to share ideas and experiences. I expect awareness programs to become widespread and progress in early detection methods to be made. I expect all this will help eliminate this disease in the coming years."

Dr Sufyan al-'Alami: "Cancer is still a savage monster. The factors mentioned in the question represent less than 10 percent of what causes cancer. I believe that we still have a long way to go in fighting cancer, and any Arab and non-Arab effort in that regard is an effort that is called for and necessary."

Dr Hisham Hasan: "I expect us to achieve concrete progress in various health and scientific fields through the Arab League and through the presence of a central research council. Efforts would be coordinated through these two bodies, and experiences would be closely shared and integrated."

Dr Ishaq Nusaybah: "Public awareness is an important method by means of which we can get rid of problems and disease, including cancer. Unfortunately, awareness efforts in our country are still immature. This is illustrated by the fact that smoking in the Arab world is still very widespread. No one stands up to state loudly and clearly that smoking is poisonous and harmful to health. That is why a sincere and mature awareness effort will reduce many diseases, including cancer. The year 2000 is not far away; nevertheless, I expect our Arab world to achieve the required progress."

Dr Aminah Murad: "There are several kinds of cancer, and the disease has different causes. That is why inheritance, food, the environment and stress are contributory factors to cancer. I expect progress will be made in fighting that disease through the closely related efforts all the world's scientists will make, including Arab scientists."

Dr Sa'ud al-Fayiz: "There is still a lot that we do not know about what causes the different kinds of cancer. Because cancer is a dangerous disease I believe that research to understand it more accurately will continue in the Arab world and all over the world as well. In the next few years we will see noticeable progress in this area. However, there is a significant point that must be understood: there are major differences between the kinds of cancer, and that makes the task of developing specific programs to eliminate that disease a difficult one. At the same time there are kinds of cancer that are associated with factors in a person's environment. Lung cancer, for example, is caused by smoking and environmental pollution. We could work together to fight these kinds of cancer and to try to prevent their occurrence."

Dr Khalil Fadil: "A comprehensive Arab outlook or joint Arab research to eliminate cancer is something we hope can be achieved by young Arab physicians

and scientists who are scattered all over the world. There is no doubt that clinics in the western world where cancer is treated by regulating food intake, relaxation and tranquility, and by using psychotherapy, drugs and radiation are successful. I believe there is enough common enthusiasm among Arabs to do something constructive for Arab cancer patients."

Dr 'Abdallah al-Haribi: "The answer to that question depends on our attitude as Arabs to the health issue. What kind of over-all scientific view will the Arab world have on health in the year 2000? Will the Arab world by then see the health issue as one of merely building hospitals, furnishing them with furniture and equipment and bringing to them workers from abroad? If the Arab world's view on health will be based on that, then it will be a narrow and a short-sighted view. Consequently, we will not be able to know what causes the disease, nor will we be able to know how to eliminate it or limit its danger."

"Therefore, we have to have preventive health institutions, and these have to be scattered in different environments. Also, it is possible to find solutions for cancer as long as a lot of effort is made and all these efforts are closely related and organized on a scientific basis."

Dr Muhammad Rida Hamzah, professor in the treatment of tumors at the National Tumor Institute in Cairo: "The rate of victories and successes that can be claimed by medical research from 1900 to 1984 is not more than 20 percent. But from 1984 to this day that rate has jumped to 50 percent. That ratio gives one reason to be optimistic that the coming years will be hopeful ones and that we will be able to curb cancer by using advanced technology, early detection devices and treatment protocols that utilize surgery, radiation, chemotherapy or immunology."

"Research has shown that it is possible to provide protection against cancer. For instance 28 percent of all kinds of cancer are completely avoidable if preventive measures are adopted. For example, we should not dive into polluted waters; and we should not smoke because smoking causes lung cancer and cancer of the tongue and mouth. We can also avoid bad eating habits such as eating too much fat and carbohydrates, which turn into fat in our bodies."

"Early detection of cancer is also considered an important factor in avoiding the spread of the disease. It is, however, costly. A medical survey of a large number of citizens would cost large amounts of money."

"There is a new trend now in the treatment of cancer. It is based on conducting studies of families whose members have had the disease. There may be a relationship between heredity and the disease. We can then produce a vaccine that could protect people from the disease and help eliminate this savage monster."

#### Institution of Marriage To Change; Emigration Opportunities To Decline

Several questions were formulated to shed some light on the Arab's character by the beginning of the 21st century. We posed these questions to 10 experts from different Arab countries. How the Arab will change at home, on the job or in society is crucial to the Arab nation's development in other areas because despite modern technology, man still remains the principal agent of any change.

It goes without saying, of course, that in formulating these questions we did not forget the vast differences in wealth and poverty that sometimes exist between different Arab societies. In some Arab countries education is widespread; in others, illiteracy is widespread. Some Arab countries are geographically closer to advanced countries. And the numbers of racial and ethnic minorities living in Arab societies and affecting them also vary. We expected these factors to be reflected in the answers given by our experts who looked at the matter exclusively from the perspective of their individual countries. However, some of them got rid of that narrow, parochial viewpoint and dealt with the issue from a pan-Arab, or rather a universal standpoint.

In an attempt to project a true image of the Arab in the future our questions had to deal with the changes that could affect the institution of marriage. Our questions dealt with the role of the new man in domestic life; woman's role in professional life; the effect of the modern media on the individual, on the family and on society; the effect of migration and emigration on Arab societies; and the factors that will have a negative or a positive effect on the Arab's character.

We must confess that the sexual imbalance among our experts--seven women and three men--puts a strong emphasis on what women have to say in this survey. But it also behoves us to state that as our male experts looked toward the future, their attitudes toward the fair sex were not niggardly at all.

[Question] How will the institution of marriage change in the Arab homeland?

Dr Zaynab al-Bakri, lecturer in sociology at Khartoum University: "Marriage will continue to be the most important institution in society, even though there will be some change in the forms of marriage. I expect women will have more say in choosing their partners, and I expect the marriage age to continue to change because education is becoming widespread and because women are working outside the home. The present cost of marriage relative to men's incomes will also change."

Faysal al-Sani', member of Kuwait's parliament: "I expect the 'mahr' or bridal money to become smaller and marriage traditions and customs to become less difficult. Family ties will be maintained and so will the relationship between a father and his children. Values and family traditions that are handed down will be strengthened."

Nadiya Hijab, a Palestinian journalist and writer, well-known in the West: "What worries most Arabs regarding social change of the Arab model is the breakup of the extended family. However, what the Arabs fear is actually happening now. The nuclear family has now become quite common in Arab cities, where half the Arab world's population lives.

"Pressure on the traditional extended family not only affects traditions and the respect children show their fathers, but it also has economic consequences. The Arab family provides social services to its members; in the West state institutions provide those services to citizens. The elderly and the disabled will suffer because the state will not be able to deal with the situation fast enough, if it can do anything about it at all."



Ra'ufah Hasan, the Ministry of Information in San'a': "We have the same marriage customs today that we had 100 years ago; they will not change much by the beginning of the 21st century. The sudden wealth we acquired is fueling the costs of these customs and causing the continuing loss of values. Since this wealth will not be depleted over the next 15 years, none of the shortcomings we have today will change. In fact, they may even grow because the emotional vacuum is growing.

"I believe family ties, relations between fathers and their children and family values and traditions that are handed down will undergo little change. Children will develop their individuality more, and the gap between them and the previous generation will grow wider. However, that will not bring about an obvious conflict that will become collective in nature because objective and subjective conditions for such a conflict have not yet ripened."

Dr Nawal al-Sa'dawi, Egyptian author and journalist: "Change is the law of life. That is why by the beginning of the 21st century relations between men and women and family relations will change. Woman's character will also change because women will be educated and working for pay--that is, they will become economically independent of men. Women will be stronger, braver and more capable of assuming responsibility at home and on the job. The amount of money paid as bridal money will also change because a woman of strong character will refuse to be bought and sold in marriage. Family ties will also change: they will become stronger in families where the marriage is sound, that is, where the marriage is based on an equal relationship between husband and wife, on freedom of choice and on understanding rather than money or any other advantage. But in families that are not built on a proper foundation--that is, where the marriage was entered into because of money or by force, for example--family ties will become weaker.

"I believe that the relationship between a father and his children will be better in those families that are built on a proper marriage, that is, a marriage where the father does not have absolute control. I believe that negative inherited family practices will decline and positive ones will become stronger and will grow. For example, affection between the spouses and between parents and children will grow and a father's selfishness and tyranny will decline. Children will become accustomed to their father's occasional presence in the home instead of being accustomed to his absence from the home all the time while he is at work."

Muhammad Qasim al-Shirawi, editor-in-chief of AL-ADWA', a Bahraini magazine: "There is no doubt that economic and social developments which are taking place today indicate that other changes in ideas about marriage and marriage customs are taking place. The family will cease to be that entity which provides for its members a mere spiritual bond and a framework within which they can exist in harmony. Family members will share fully the economic burdens and the costs of living every day, and the effect of that will be reflected on several matters.

"More wives will try to work outside the home, and they will try to become economically independent. This is because a woman feels that her home and her family make up an integrated, economic family unit within which the principle of sharing is adopted.

"Therefore, it is this perspective that will present itself when marital relations are being established by the early 21st century.

"People will no longer marry because their parents tell them to, nor will they marry those partners chosen for them by their fathers. Instead, people will choose their own marriage partners so they can begin forming that economic and social institution which we call the family. Therefore, setting up a family will also be based on total sharing. The marriage partners will share the costs of furnishing their own home; they will share the wedding costs and the cost of setting up the marital abode. Thus, the actual importance and significance of bridal money will decline.

"Based on what we mentioned previously there is no doubt that forming an economic unit will take precedence over forming a social unit. All this will have an impact on family ties and on relations between parents and children. Most of these relations will be built on advantage and interest, and those aspects of a relationship will take precedence over emotional aspects, even though they may not do away with them altogether. There will always be some values and traditions inspired by religion and by heritage to maintain these family relations in the future and mitigate the severity [of the change]. There is nothing more indicative of this than the return to religious sentiments which we are seeing now, and that could automatically trigger spiritual ties within families. I am not optimistic, however, because I believe that none of this will change people's disposition to material considerations in marital relationships.

"The new family relationships which we are beginning to see now will most certainly be established at the expense of family values and handed down traditions, such as the big house and the respect and reverence the young have for the old. These new relations undercut the cordial atmosphere afforded by the family, which in the past did not expect any financial or even moral rewards for its support. Families did not expect to be rewarded by such values and handed down traditions. Each member of a family will try to pursue his own ideas in establishing his relations, his friendships and his ideas."

Janine Rubayz, president of the Art and Literature Society in Lebanon: "Life is change, and anything that does not change dies. This is the law of life. Some people think that the institution of marriage has become petrified and that it is even going backward to what is called original Arab traditions. The Arab world is going through a phase of ideological hostility to the West; it is rejecting the West. But what is it that we are rejecting? Are we rejecting radios, televisions, refrigerators, washing machines, irons, telephones, elevators, automobiles, airplanes, computers and all kinds of weapons? Are we rejecting inventions, research, borrowed ideas in all disciplines such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and medicine? Are we rejecting agricultural, industrial, technological, electronic and data machinery? This is of course impossible. Then what is it that we are rejecting? And here the only thing we can reject is the emancipation of women. So we held on to the family and to authentic traditions; we established the man's authority; and we consolidated women's inferiority and their marginal importance. We thought then that we were rejecting the West and westernization. However, I must pause, even for a brief moment, at the idea of bridal money. Bridal money is like a payment made for 'destruction or damage' or dismissal from service. It is mandatory. And

yet we hear fathers exclaim, 'My daughter is not for sale!' But that is the wrong idea for the following reasons: first, bridal money is for the woman, not for her family; and second, it provides a woman with security against a man's tyranny."

Musa Barnas, a prominent Lebanese attorney and politician: "Despite the severity of religious laws sometimes and the harshness of social conventions other times the institution of marriage is well on its way to becoming weaker, if not altogether shattered. All this has been the result of relaxing the inhibitions, and that in time would prevail over traditional marriage and family ties, particularly those between a father and son, as well as family values and handed down values."

Layla Abu Zayd, a Moroccan researcher and author: "Marriage customs will change: those customs that take up time, effort and money and have no religious value will be abolished; and payment of large amounts of bridal money in countries where such payments are still customary will no longer be made. The value of bridal money will be nominal, and it will be in proportion to individuals' standards."

Dr Ilham Kalab, member of the Society for Family Planning in Lebanon: "The institution of marriage will change because circumstances will force it to change, not because people's convictions have changed. The Arab family is still subject to Arab marriage rites and rituals that are inherited and handed down. The Arab family is linked with money, the tribe and laws. The tremendous amounts of money that are wasted on weddings, on bridal money and on the amount of money that is to be paid in advance in case a marriage breaks up associates the institution of marriage with the task of providing economic support. Alongside that, emotional ideas and personal ties of affection in good times and in bad times fade. I do not expect any change in the laws in favor of women, but reality will precede the law."

[Question] What are the social effects of the Arabs' migration in Arab countries and their immigration abroad?

Dr Ilham Kalab: "How will we move from one age to another? How many Arab societies are in effect asking themselves that question?

"Why would an Arab leave one country and go to another? How many Arab societies are trying to come up with practical and anticipatory answers to that question?

"Why do people emigrate? Do they emigrate to work? Are they seeking new markets? Are they trying to find a place with a different social orientation? Each immigrant has his own priorities: one immigrates because of money; another immigrates because of a society's culture; and still another immigrates to enjoy a society's progress.

"The social effects of immigration are considerable because a person's economic, scientific or personal situation changes. But I regret to mention that Lebanese citizens who have been the area's veteran immigrants are now turning back. They are leaving one area inside their homeland and going to another. They seem to be dejected and beaten, and this is a phenomenon that no other Arab country has known."

Layla Abu Zayd: "The negative effects of Arab migration within the Arab homeland are nothing to speak of compared to those of emigration outside the Arab homeland. An Arab who leaves one Arab country and goes to another immigrates to an environment that is not different from his original environment. He goes to a place where the same religious rites are practiced and the same language is spoken. These are important matters, especially for people who have children and problems. The consequences of that kind of immigration are usually grave for children in case of divorce when the wife is from the new country. Tragic stories have been told recently about Moroccan women married to Egyptian men who smuggled their children out of the country. The problems of emigrating outside the Arab homeland are numerous. There is the problem of religion, language, a different culture, different values and different conduct. And the children are torn between two different worlds. When I was a student in London I saw a case that touched me and that I did not forget. I saw a family where the father was Iraqi and the mother Pakistani; the mother could not communicate with her youngest daughter at all because the youngest daughter was born in Britain, and the mother did not speak English."

Faysal al-Sani': "Migration among the Arab countries has contributed to the development of a mode of easy Arabic. It helped bring about a psychological and a social rapprochement among the peoples. Although there are undeniable drawbacks which are the result of competition in numerous fields, migration has also created a mode of thinking and analysis, particularly among educated segments of the population."

Dr Zaynab al-Bakri: "I believe that opportunities for emigration will decline because of the changes that will take place in those countries where immigrants go. These changes will primarily be economic. In addition, education will become widespread; therefore, there will be a relative abundance of trained people in those countries who will fill those positions that used to be filled by immigrants in the past. All this will mean that the services of a large number of immigrants will no longer be needed. Those people will have to go back to their countries, or they will have to accept extremely harsh employment conditions and positions that are below their standards. If these immigrants return to their country, their return will create political and social crises for their governments who will face large numbers of people dissatisfied with the political, social and economic conditions they found upon their return."

Musa Barnas: "Immigration is undoubtedly effective in that it enriches the Arab homeland inasmuch as it brings to it social knowledge. Immigration enriches the Arab homeland provided it is temporary and the immigrants are always willing to go back to their origins and their roots. Ultimately, every person must make a contribution to the development of his place of birth or the place where he settles."

Ra'ufah Hasan: "Arab migration will bring habits and customs closer together, and it will spread ideas against pan-Arabism or a united nation."

Nadiya Hajab: "Arab migration takes on three forms: Arabs migrate from the village to the city within the same country; they migrate from one Arab country to another; and they emigrate from the Arab world altogether. The first form of

migration is very harmful; it is not planned. It increases congestion in cities, and it wears out services in those cities. On the one hand it creates a poverty zone around cities, and on the other hand it robs rural areas of their population. This has a negative effect on agriculture, and as a result of economic need it produces political and social chaos. Families are often divided with the women staying in the villages while the men leave to go looking for work. In some cases the women go to the city alone to look for employment as domestics.

"In many cases migration from one Arab country to another divides families. It encourages consumption instead of real growth. This kind of migration has a positive effect in that it brings together Arabs from different countries. And that could result in friendship or hostility, but it also produces a sharing of knowledge, and that is important.

"But people emigrate to the West because of economic need, political turmoil or because of restrictions imposed on freedom and research in the homeland. This kind of emigration is harmful to the Arab world, which is losing its best brain power. This causes local development efforts to slide back."

Nawal al-Sa'dawi: "Immigration has negative as well as positive effects. The positive effects will remain and the negative ones will disappear. Among the positive effects of immigration is the fact that the immigrant acquires new experiences and sees new worlds that make him look upon his own in a different and more aware way. He discovers his world's advantages and disadvantages, and his ability to criticize and to reform grows accordingly.

"Another positive effect of immigration is the fact that other members of the family who do not immigrate acquire new experiences and a new independence. This is especially true for women and children who are left without the head of the family. The absence of the head of the family sometimes helps the remaining members of the family become independent because they take over those tasks that he used to take care of himself."

Janine Rubayz: "Why do people emigrate? In the past people emigrated for economic reasons. Now, people emigrate to western countries outside the Arab homeland because they want to change their way of life. There are people who became accustomed to values and traditions they do not find in their own countries, and they allowed their children to become accustomed to them also. So they emigrate. Migration from one Arab country to another does not have a significant effect in my opinion because the way of life is similar, and social effects are minimal. I think that what has a greater and a more important impact is migration from the village to the city in an Arab country. There are good things to be said about moving and relocating in a strange place. One adage says that a repotted plant develops stronger roots. Every time a person moves and relocates in a strange place, one ought to pause and contemplate the positive. Cultural exchange in such a situation brings people closer together. That too is important and positive."

Muhammad Qasim al-Shirawi: "Emigration from the Arab homeland has its negative and positive effects. It means a manpower shortage. It means Arab minds are



emigrating at a time when they are needed for development plans that are necessary to rid Arab societies of the effects of backwardness and blunders.

"On the other hand, this emigration is one way to provide our societies with expertise. These people who emigrated will one day return for some reason. They will then have the modern ideas, the technical tools and the rich minds that will help develop the Arab."

[Question] Will there be a growing affinity and harmony between customs, traditions and dialects in the Arab homeland?

Musa Barnas: "This is something that we hope for, but it is also difficult to predict the practical aspects of a growing affinity between Arab customs, traditions and dialects. It would be enough to go back to the principle which states that progress is being made toward the unity of the human race, and a federation is being contemplated. What then is our situation as we analyze the Arab homeland's conditions? What is the condition of the Arab homeland, the home of all the Arab homelands? Unless there is a growing affinity in customs, traditions and dialects, our world will inevitably cease to exist."

Layla Aby Zayd: "I cannot imagine a growing affinity between Arabic dialects or Arab traditions because this is something that depends on direct contact between people on a very broad scale. History proves that this kind of affinity was the result of extensive immigration. That was the case when people emigrated from Andalusia and went to Morocco. The media cannot convey and consolidate traditions, nor can they convey the dialects: the media cannot make people speak and use those dialects. Program exchange in the Arab media does not cover everything, and even if it did, it would not meet that purpose. If program exchange in the Arab media covered everything, then Arab countries where many Egyptian motion pictures are shown would have adopted Egyptian traditions by now and they would have been using the Egyptian dialect."

Dr Ilham Kalab: "And is such affinity essential? Similarity does not provide evidence of agreement. The diversity of customs, traditions and dialects is a sign of wealth, cross-fertilization and freedom. Similarity, however, may be evidence of a poor imagination or the dictatorship of a single taste. I support diversity even if it were to lead to debate. The fact is that diversity will only cause us to have faith in the broad, deep and diverse wealth of humanity; it will refine the spirit of forbearance, freedom and tolerance for the other point of view."

Nadiya Hajab: "The media and migration from one Arab country to another have helped break down the artificial barriers that existed between the Arabs. These barriers will be falling down faster now because of the Arab satellite. Also the countries of the Arab Maghreb are now closer to the countries of the Arab East. This has been one of the unexpected effects of moving the headquarters of the Arab League to Tunisia in the aftermath of Camp David. There is a growing awareness that the Arab world needs unity. This awareness is not the result of dreams or slogans, but it is rather the result of real political and security causes. While political division in the Arab world remains strong, there are nevertheless numerous interrelated, economic and cultural projects which are laying the foundations for a stronger unity in the future."



Nawal al-Sa'dawi: "Yes, there will be a growing affinity between customs, traditions and dialects in the Arab homeland. But in time the more positive customs will be the ones that will gain the upper hand because they will be compatible with the requirements of the age."

Muhammad Qasim al-Shirawi: "This is a time when the whole world is becoming a smaller place because the means and the speed of communications have abolished all geographical, political or economic distances between countries. This is all being reinforced by an information revolution. If this is happening in the world at large, what then can we expect from a nation whose origins are similar and whose ideas and values stem from one source and one predominant cultural legacy? What can we expect from a nation that has a common religion and a common history? All that must ultimately bring about a greater affinity after people straighten out and manage their own affairs by exercising their will, not by accepting matters that are imposed on them."

Janine Rubayz: "When the idea of Arab nationalism was on the decline, or when it failed--and we think it did--and there were homelands and nationalities that had conflicts with each other, some people feared that the idea of narrow and partial nationalistic feelings like those in western Europe would grow. They feared that what happened to Latin, for example, would happen to Arabic. But I do not think there is any reason for such fears for the following reasons: first, Arabic is a strong language, and it cannot be shaken from its position that easily by colloquial dialects that remain marginal. Second, I think Arabic has been strengthened since colonialism left our country and since the Arabization decision took hold all over the Arab homeland. Arabic has been strengthened ever since efforts to wipe out illiteracy began. I think everyone is speaking a better and a more grammatically accurate language. Third, spoken dialects differ from one region to another in the Arab homeland and from one suburb to another in the same city. In my opinion, this is an indication of the vitality of the Arab people. Such diversity enriches Arabic; it does not weaken it.

"I think that the Arabs' sense of affiliation with their roots and cultural heritage is strong and deep. The Arabs have a deep sense of affiliation with the land and with history. They are looking forward to the future, to a common destiny."

Dr Zaynab al-Bakri: "I believe there will be some affinity because many customs and traditions will break up and disappear. Because of modernization and the economic changes that will take place these customs and traditions will be replaced by new ones."

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